DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 042 888 VT 010 712

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TITLE	Work Release: Factors in Selection and Results.
INSTITUTION	Southern Illinois Univ., Carbondale. Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency and Corrections.
SPONS AGENCY	Social and Rehabilitation Service (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Research and Demonstration Grants.
PUB DATE	69
NOTE	292p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency, and Corrections, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois 62901 ($5.00)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$1.25 HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Correctional Rehabilitation, Employment Opportunities, *Prisoners, *Probationary Period, *Program Evaluation, State Programs, *Work Experience Programs

ABSTRACT

As the first systematic evaluation of an American work-release program, this investigation employed data on all male prisoners placed on the program in North Carolina between 1957 and 1963. Outcome was measured against the variables affecting selection for work-release. The study found that factors affecting parole performance after work-release include: (1) length of term served before work-release, (2) length of time on work-release, (3) skill level of work-release job, (4) continuation of work-release job into parole, and (5) relationship between work-release and parole locale. A sample of orthodox parolees was compared with the paroled work-releasees to disclose possible differences in parole performance and problems raised during supervision. The study concluded that the work-release experience generally brought fewer problems for the parole supervisor, in terms of transgressions, mobility, and family problems. The problems raised by the work-release parolee were more likely to be associated with behavior consistent with the ultimate purpose of parole. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (BH)

ED0 42888

WORK RELEASE: FACTORS IN SELECTION AND RESULTS

CENTER FOR THE STUDY
OF
CRIME, DELINQUENCY,
AND CORRECTIONS

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WORK RELEASE: FACTORS IN SELECTION AND RESULTS

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Investigation supported, in part by Research Grant RD-2427-G-67
from Division of Research and Demonstration Grants,
Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health,
Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C. 20201

Research conducted at Center for Study of Crime, Delinquency,
and Corrections, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale;
Cooperation received from North Carolina Department of
Correction and North Carolina Board of Paroles

1969

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ABSTRACT

As the first systematic evaluation on American work-release program, this investigation employed data on all male prisoners placed on the program in North Carolina for the period 1957 through 1963.

First, "success" was measured in terms of the inmate's retention on work-release until his release from prison. Outcome was measured against variables used most frequently in selection of prisoners for work release. Special attention was devoted to the affect of length of sentence served before assignment to work release and the length of service on the program. The place and function within the socio-economic structure of North Carolina were examined ecologically. There was a comparison of two modes of selecting work releasees: recommendation by sentencing court versus approval by correctional authorities alone.

Paroled work-releasees were studied to evaluate consequences of the work-release experience on return to the free community. Pertinence of several selection criteria was assessed. One conclusion was that assignment early in the period of confinement enhances chances of worthy parole performance. Other factors analyzed were: length of time on work release, continuation of work-release job into parole, relationship between work-release and parole locales, and skill level of work-release job.

A sample of orthodox parolees was compared with the paroled work-releasees to test two questions. Do the two types differ in parole performance? Do they differ in quantity and quality of problems raised during supervision?

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Although the idea of restraint remains a major ingredient of contemporary prisons, there are the first tentative signs of a movement toward breaking of the isolation of the correctional institution from the mainstream of social life outside its boundaries. Its "closed system" character may be undergoing erosion. Three trends hold potential. One trend is increasing recognition that the social structure and normative system of the correctional agency require revision to reduce the sharp discrepancy between penal confinement and the life of the prisoner after his return to the free community. The second trend is represented by hesitant and fragmented efforts to gear the programs of institutions with the circumstances the prisoner will encounter after release. The third trend encompasses a variety of strategies to bridge the gap between confinement and freedom.

The idea of community-based correction synthesizes the trends in terms of probation, parole, and special facilities to promote adjustment to the community. The special facilities are half-way houses, work release and furlough centers, and, especially, local correctional centers.

The community-based institution is envisaged as a new model, the architectural and methodological antithesis of the traditional fortress-like prison which serves as a place of banishment. A small and informal structure, it would be located near the population center from which its inmates were drawn. Extensive screening and classification of inmates received from the courts would be the basis of alternative handling of sentenced offenders. Some would be placed immediately in community treatment programs. Another group would be provided short-term, intensive treatment before being assigned to a community program. A third group would be diagnosed as requiring either more secure custody or more prolonged treatment through transfer to an institution more in the current model.[1]

In this report our attention will be centered on one phase of the movement toward community-based corrections; namely; work release. The next chapter will be devoted to the definition of this approach and to an analysis of its potentialities. For the moment, we only say that, under this approach, selected prisoners are permitted to be employed in regular salaried jobs in the free community while spending non-working hours in the prison.

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[1] President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Corrections, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 11; also see: Howard B. Gill, "What is a Community Prison?" Federal Probation, Vol. 29 (September 1965), pp. 15-18.

Wisconsin's Huber Law of 1913 officially introduced work release for jail inmates for the first time in the United States, although earlier some female inmates in Massachusetts were placed in the community under an indenture system. Today 35 states and the federal government provide some form of work release. Sweden has experimented with the approach since 1937. France, Scotland, Norway, Western Germany, and Great Britain also use it.[2]

North Carolina introduced work release in 1957 and was the first state to extend the privilege to felons. To promote understanding of the potentials and problems of this progressive approach, this study will take advantage of the information acquired through administration of North Carolina's unusual program by both the North Carolina Department of Correction and the North Carolina Board of Parole. The investigation has been made possible by the active support of V. Lee Bounds, Director of the Department of Correction, and Marvin R. Wooten, Chairman of the Board of Parole at the time of the data collection. Mr. Wade E. Brown is the current chairman of the Board.

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[2] Stanley E. Grupp, "Work Release and the Misdemeanant," Federal Probation, Vol. 29 (June 1965), p. 7.

Our study will be based on data including the prisoners placed on work release from the initiation of the program through 1963. The data was terminated at 1963 to permit determination of the outcome of the cases. The key objective of the investigation was to provide evaluation of the approach. However, the study has a number of special merits in addition to constituting the first systematic evaluation of a large number of work-release inmates.

The second advantage is derived from an unusual feature of the North Carolina Department of Correction. Half of the prisoners are misdemeanants who would be incarcerated in local jails scattered throughout most states. We will be able to compare the application of work release to both short-term and long-term prisoners.

Third, the North Carolina work-release program was introduced without significant change in vocational training, counseling, or diagnostic services. Because this procedure is characteristic of the introduction of work release in most prison systems, we will be assessing the application of the strategy under the circumstances of one of the major models for its administration during at least the initial period of

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of its introduction. In fact, it is probable that this model is extremely dominant quantitatively in this respect. This model is not ideal from the point of view of the penal reformer who would use work release as a rehabilitative strategy for mobilizing resources to improve the offender's capacity to cope with fundamental forces contributory to his offenses. However, the realities of the prison administration necessitate graded stages in expansion of resources and revision of the attitudes which color interpersonal relationships within the prison. Therefore, the very modest expansion in rehabilitation-oriented supporting services makes the North Carolina situations germane to the present stage in the development of American corrections.

Fourth, the study provides information on two of the crucial aspects of work-release administration: patterns associated with selection of work releasees from a total prisoner population and the patterns associated with outcome. Here the total group of work releasees will be studied.

Patterns associated with selection involve choice among personal-social characteristics of inmates (race, age, marital status, and education), behavioral indices (previous prison sentences and crime), and work release experience (length of time on work release, mode of decision-making which put the man on work release, and factors associated with work release employment). Comparisons will be made between use of various criteria in selection of inmates on the basis of recommendation of the sentencing court versus selection without such recommendation. The differences between total prisoners and work releasees will be assessed according to some of the criteria used in selection.

Outcome will be measured in terms of retention on work release until discharge from prison or parole. In this instance, "success" will be defined as this form of retention. "Failure" will include removal from the program for prison rule violations or escape. It will be necessary to rule out removals from the program for reasons which do not indicate misconduct of the inmate. The third category, "abortions," will include removals for medical reasons, and termination of job for reasons other than inmate transgression. To measure "success", the third category should be eliminated. Outcome will be related to various categories of selection criteria to measure relative predictive value of the criteria.

Fifth, to the extent that selection for parole is an index to official evaluation of an inmate as a superior candidate for prosocial behavior after release from prison, we shall compare work releasees who are paroled with work releasees who are not paroled to analyze several questions: Are certain selection criteria predictive of superior work-release performance? Do factors such as length of time on work release have relationships with likelihood of gaining parole? Does recommendation by sentencing court for work release affect chances for parole. Does level of skill of work release job and other qualities of the work-release experience affect chances for parole? What are the relationships between work-release employment and parole employment?

Sixth, we shall be concerned about the relationship between work-release performance and parole performance. The implications are suggested by the following illustrative questions: Were those inmates who continued their civilian employment into work release more successful on parole than those inmates who did not? Were those inmates with parole residence near the place where they served on work release more likely to continue steady employment on parole through to successful parole employment? Did a larger period of prison confinement reduce the likelihood that an inmate would resume employment in his civilian occupation through to successful termination of parole? With the relationship between work release and parole residences held constant, was the failure to continue work release through parole associated with inferior job performance on parole?

With geographical mobility held constant were the inmates in certain general categories of industries more likely to continue their work release job into parole employment? As the period of confinement increases, does the likelihood of effective and steady employment on parole decline for work release prisoners? As the period of confinement is prolonged, does the likelihood of satisfactory behavior on parole and successful completion of parole decline among work-release prisoners?

Seventh, we are especially concerned with the issue whether work releasees differ from other prisoners in their performance after release from prison. The implication is that the experiences of work release and/or the selection of work releasees from all prisoners make the work releasees superior candidates for parole, on the average, than the prisoners not selected for work release.

To provide a basis for comparisons, a sample of paroled prisoners, not on work release, was selected to serve as controls in conjunction with the experimental group composed of those work releasees who were paroled. For both control and experimental groups, the supervision reports of the Board of Paroles were employed to complete research schedules describing certain variables in regard to behavior while the former prisoner was on parole.

The following questions illustrate our interest in the differences between the control and experimental groups in parole performance: Did they differ in the relationship between parole outcome and qualities of job performance (level of skill, number of job changes, type of industry, quality of work record, and rise in income)? Did they differ in tendencies toward misbehavior on parole (parole-rule violations, additional crimes perpetrated, and temporary revocations)? Did they differ in the number of difficulties they raised for the parole officer? Did they differ in the length of time under parole supervision? Which group had a greater proportion of parolees demonstrating behavioral maladjustment in each of several facets of parole behavior?

Eighth, another central question will be whether the two groups of parolees differ in parole outcome. The general question will raise a number of subsidiary issues involving the influence of age, marital status, occupation, and other variables affecting selection among prisoners for parole. Regardless of the gross "success" rates, the two groups probably differ in the relative presence of variables likely to influence the probability of parole success. By controlling these variables in succession, we hope to test the possibility that relative success on parole is a product of differences in selection rather than of the affects of work release per se.

Subsidiary to the analysis of North Carolina data, we shall evaluate the several objectives attached to the work-release approach (see Chapter 2) and the administrative patterns in work release programs among the states (see Chapter 3).

Completion of the project would have been impossible without the dedicated efforts of graduate students at various stages in the investigation: Robert Buchanan, Edward Bencini, and Gwendolyn Lofquist. The research schedules were completed by a team of assistants in Raleigh under the able supervision of Mrs. Lillian Nerden.

Chapter 2: The Nature and Purposes of Work Release

Under the work-release approach, selected prisoners are employed in paid civilian jobs in the free community. During non-working hours, they are housed in prison, usually isolated from those prisoners not on the program. The work-releasees are charged board and room and for costs of transporting them to work. Their pay checks are collected by the prison administration. A portion of the pay may be allocated to support the inmate's dependents. When released from prison, the inmate is given a financial statement listing all deductions. The remainder is turned over to him as a resource for reintegration of himself into community life.

Work release is intermediate between probation and imprisonment and, in another sense, between imprisonment and parole. When the sentencing judge recommends work release for a person he has sentenced to prison, he implies a better prognosis for rehabilitation than he sees for the offenders he sentences to prison without a recommendation. However, the judge also implies that probation would not provide the firmness of control the offender requires. When the court lacks an effective probation program, his use of work release suggests the need for expansion of probation services.

Work release resembles parole in that the offender usually has served a portion of his sentence. Furthermore, he frequently is under some degree of official supervision in the community. However, it differs from parole in that he remains under the administrative control of the prison where he continues to reside. He occupies a marginal status, half-free yet a prisoner in many respects.

As an alternative to traditional confinement, work release permits a degree of conditional release earlier in the sentence usually possible under parole. Under ideal administration new flexibility is provided for fitting the handling of a prisoner at the point in his prison career when he is best prepared psychologically to behave in a prosocial manner. Work release can provide a period of testing of inmates under conditions of half-free status.

MAJOR GOALS FOR WORK RELEASE

The several goals set for work release are not necessarily consistent. Under generalized praise for this "revolutionary" approach are familiar contradictions which have hobbled corrections since the first prison was opened. Therefore, we shall probe some of the purposes behind introduction of this strategy.

Alternative to total confinement. Reformers have been appalled at the debilitating effects of prison life on the initiative, self-respect, and value system of the prisoner. They have branded as bankrupt the justifications for confinement in itself as a means of deterring future crimes or reforming the offender's personality and attitudes.

The special pertinence of alternatives to imprisonment for America is indicated by imprisonment rates per hundred thousand population for several countries: Norway 44, United Kingdom 59, Sweden 63, Denmark 73, Finland 153, United States 200, and Canada 240.[1] United States is one of the most incarceration-oriented in the western world. Furthermore, a large share of the inmates serve sentences too brief to permit any effective treatment program. There is no reason to believe that, under these circumstances, incarceration has any perceptable positive effect on the bulk of the individuals contributing to the high rate of imprisonment.

Reshaping conceptions of the prisoner. Public attitudes toward inmates are colored by what has been called the "convict bogey."[2] Stemming from the view that the prime purpose of prisons is to lock up criminals, the prisoner often is regarded as a totally evil and highly dangerous being.

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[1] John Hogarth, "Towards the Improvement of Sentencing in Canada," Canadian Journal of Corrections, Vol. 9 (April 1967, p. 124.

[2] Harry Elmer Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, New Horizons in Criminology, 3d. ed., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1959, pp. 354-359.

Work release focuses attention on the rehabilitative purposes of prison confinement rather than the retributive purposes. The image is of a person sufficiently trustworthy to work along with free workers, sufficiently responsible to be willing to support his dependents, and sufficiently self-disciplined in work attitudes and habits to maintain employment. By eroding the "convict bogey," work release reduces the social stigmization usually handicapping the released prisoner and his family in gaining social acceptance in a free community.

Many of the objections against work release expressed by correctional employees are based on the conception of the prisoner as socially unworthy. Additional tasks in checking inmates in and out of the jail tend to emphasize relatively individualized handling of inmates, thereby undermining standardized procedures which reduce work demands on employees.[3] In this fashion the changing context of inmate-staff relationships might be moved toward greater attention to the individual qualities of the inmate.[4] Elsewhere, we wrote:

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[3] See Stanley E. Grupp, "Work Release as Viewed by Illinois Sheriffs," Police, July-August 1965, pp. 22-23.

[4] Elmer H. Johnson, "Work Release--A Study of Correctional Reform," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 13 (October 1967), p. 529.

"Work release leads to new relationships within prison's social system. The half-free status of prisoners undermines traditional controls based on coercion. The prison has a stake in success of work release economically and psychologically. The prisoner gains a modest degree of power because he can opt to refuse work release privileges and because his behavior on the job colors public attitudes. Furthermore, the employer becomes a third party in the prisoner-official relationship. Continuation of work release rests, to a major degree, on the belief of the employer that he can rely on it as a steady source of workers. Interruptions of work schedules are not likely to make him sympathetic to punishments which deny him the service of workers. Standardization of work hours and restrictions on the physical movement of prisoners in the community may conflict with needed flexibility in the use of employees. Humanitarian sympathies and work demands may cause an employer to condone infractions of prison rules. . . The half-free status creates circumstances not amenable to clearcut interpretation within the formal and informal norms of the prison's traditional social system. . . ."

Reducing financial burden on tax-payer. A prime argument advanced by its advocates is that the program requires the inmate to contribute from his pay some of the costs of maintaining him in prison. Furthermore, the prisoner is able to support at least partially his dependents who otherwise probably would require public assistance. Incidentally, the inmate may be placed in the unfamiliar position of paying income taxes, fines, and court costs.

This argument usually ignores a number of hidden costs. If rehabilitation is the genuine objective, case work services are likely to increase. Even when quality of treatment is not improved, there are costs in interviewing, testing, selection, supervision, and record-keeping. Although costs can be estimated reliably only in terms of the characteristics of a particular program, it is probable that, in final analysis, work release costs no more than other alternatives to imprisonment. Then the central issue is whether the tax-payer is benefited by the social advantages of work release and an ultimate reduction in the extent of crime.

Maintaining the labor force of the free community: The strategy prevents interruption of the prisoner's labor contribution to the economic system of the free community. When the prisoner is a skilled worker, this interruption can have adverse consequences for his employer. Imprisonment is less likely to endanger the inmate's work career and to undermine his work habits and skills. Ideally, he can resume his civilian job immediately after admission to prison. For a number of practical and administrative reasons, this degree of work continuity can not be guaranteed.

Final phase of vocational training in prison. Ideally, work release complements the educational and training programs of the correctional institution. It can be a valuable alternative to a work assignment within a prison industry to expand the range of technological experience. A wider range of skill opportunities becomes available for fitting the job to the motivations, career aspirations, and specialized work experience of the inmate. Employment in a regular job exposes the inmate to the work pace, working conditions, and social environment of work he will encounter after release from imprisonment.

But there are too many hidden problems to make certain the realization of these potentials. The use of work release depends largely on the supply-demand relationships in the local labor market, and the receptivity of employers, co-workers, and, in some cases, clients of the particular enterprise. A major question is whether the particular geographical area which is accessible for the prison's work-release program is capable of generating the kinds and quality of jobs consistent with the income needs and particular work interests of the persons included in that prison's population.

Stating the issue in reverse, there is the question whether the prison can meet the needs of the local job market while accomplishing the purposes of rehabilitation. There must be a supply of skills available among prisoners to coincide in quality and specialization with the labor needs of the available job market. Because a great proportion of prisoners lack high work skills and reliable work habits, the supply of excellent job candidates is easy to exaggerate. Then the issue centers on the capacity of the prison to produce a great supply through vocational and attitudinal training.

Period of transition from prison to community. Work release has been advocated as a bridge between life in prison and life of the released inmate in the free community. It would appear, at first glance, that his situation is the equivalent of an average employee in the work place. However, the other dimension of his half-free status probably marks his relationships with others to make him somewhat different in the responses of others to him and his responses to them.

With the variations in his housing locale and role in prison among various work-release programs, there are differences in the degree of discrepancy between his job role and his inmate role. When the discrepancy is marked, the tensions of adjustment to the community can be heightened for some inmates. When the discrepancy is minimal, work release experiences can blunt the shock of eventual total release by preparing him for employment realities. Furthermore, work release may afford earlier access to the community's job market and ease the job search problems of the discharged prisoner.

Maintenance of family ties. When he can contribute to the economic support of his dependents, the prisoner has means of maintaining his status as family head. In this sense, stability of the family can be safeguarded. Work release is a contributory, rather than primary, factor because the integration of the family depends on the social psychology of the network of relationships found within a given family.

Reformation of inmate attitudes and behavior. If the offender is to be moved toward pro-social attitudes, he must be convinced that a hostile environment is not solely responsible for his difficulties. He must be brought to realize his own motives and perceptions have been involved. The frequency and intensity of his frustrating experiences should be lowered to bring them within the span of his control. He should be diverted from futile attempts to change his environment and toward undertaking of changes within himself. Finally, he should have opportunities to test new modes of relating to the persons making up his social environment.[5]

To the extent work release provides a means of access to the opportunity structure, the inmate gains a starting point for reorganizing his personal goal-striving to bring his activities more in gear with the social order of the community. Opportunity

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[5] Lloyd W. McCorkle and Richard R. Korn, "Resocialization Within Walls," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 293, (May 1954), pp. 96-97.

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can be afforded the inmate to learn of counseling, job informational sources, therapy and other resources in the community. The economic and social rewards of work-release employment can motivate inmates to participate in training and attitudinal programs of the institution which now have concrete payoff. Because work-release relies on volunteering to an important degree, the inmate obligates himself to participate actively in the rehabilitation processes. Furthermore, the correctional staff is pressed to respond constructively to the inmate's personal needs because the program must rely ultimately on the self-discipline of the inmate.

Lending new flexibility to court-prison interrelationships. As an alternative to the orthodox prison sentence, work release permits extension of the court's jurisdiction further into the period of imprisonment. Now the sentencing judge can recommend that the correctional institution provide certain treatment services or deal with the particular prisoner with special sternness. However, the actual implementation of such recommendations is determined by the prison or parole authorities. The sharp division of authority between the court and the correctional agency handicaps coordination of the phases of the overall system of criminal justice. It creates tensions between the two sets of authorities.

Work release lends itself to providing greater flexibility in demarking the jurisdictional boundaries between the sentencing court and the correctional agency. The conditions of the sentence could be altered later to coincide more precisely with the results of more intensive testing of the qualities of the particular inmate and his demonstrated eligibility for conditional release into the community. The possibilities are suggested in France where work release (semi-liberté) rests with a special magistrate who is specifically concerned with the supervision and execution of sentences.[6]

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[6] Stanley Grupp and Jacques Verin, "Work Release for Short-term offenders in France and the United States, " Canadian Journal of Correction, Vol. 10, (July 1968), pp. 491-492.

Chapter 3: Survey of Work Release Programs Among States

The work-release approach has received remarkable support in the last 15 years when the number of states adopting it is considered. Is this a genuine penal reform movement? Prison reform traditionally has floundered when it encounters entrenched ideology, lack of personnel competent to transform a new idea into institutionalized practice, lack of physical facilities and other resources essential to implememtation, and the harsh reality that change within a prison must be matched by a willingness of the total system of government and the total outside community to provide resources and social-psychological support to the innovation. Frequently, the new refrom vanishes once these deep-seated obstacles are confronted. Does work release promise to move beyond the initial stage of enthusiastic hope to the stage where these practical problems lie in ambush?

To obtain an answer all states were asked whether legislation existed authorizing work release for the adult correctional system of the state. When legislation did exist, a questionnaire was sent to the state correctional agency to determine whether the legislation had culminated in an actual program. If so, information was solicited on how certain practical problems are handled to permit evaluation of the rate of progress in confronting the realities encountered by reform.

HOW MANY STATES HAVE IMPLEMENTED WORK RELEASE?

Of the 50 states and the District of Columbia, 28 reported legislation has authorized a work-release program for the state-operated correctional agency. Seven other states have authorized work release for municipal or county correctional institutions but not for the state agencies.

As Table 2-1 summarizes, the authorization for state correctional agencies is generally more recent than programs for local jails and correctional institutions. The bulk of the suthorizations came in the years 1965-1967. Of the 28 states with authorizations, 22 have implemented a state-operated program. Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, and Massachusetts are preparing to inaugurate a program.

In terms of numbers of inmates currently reported on the program, North Carolina has the most extensive program. Maryland also has a large number. The District of Columbia, Oregon, Michigan, and South Carolina have implemented their programs to an important extent. Considering the small size of their inmate populations, Utah, Maine, Vermont, Rhode Island, Nebraska, and South Carolina have done well. Other states have only pilot programs.

TABLE 2-1: SUMMARY OF STATUS OF WORK RELEASE IN STATES AUTHORIZING PROGRAM BY LAW

State	Year Prison Program Authorized	Year Jail Program Authorized	Prison Program @ Implemented?	Date Program Implemented	Number of Inmates on Program Now
Alaska	1967	1967	A	July '67	none
Calif.	1965	1957[b]	A	Apr. '66	25
Colo.	1967	1965[b]	A	Feb. '68	4
Conn.	1968	--	B	--	--
Del.	1958	unreptd	C	1958	unreptd
Dist. Colum.	1966	1966	A	Apr. '66	117
Fla.	1967	1963[b]	B	--	--
Ga.	1968	--	B	--	--
Hawaii	1967	1937	A	June '68	7
Idaho	--	1957	--	--	--
Ill.	1967	--	B	--	--
Ind.	1967	1963	A	Apr. '68	28
Iowa	1967	1966[b]	A	July '67	7
Maine	1967	1967[b]	A	Feb. '68	22
Md.	1963	1963[b]	A	July '63	207
Mass.	1967	1962[b]	B	--	--
Mich.	1966	1962[b]	A	June '66	84
Minn.	1967	1959[b]	A	Oct. '67	19
Mont.	--	1968	--	--	--
Neb.	1967	--	A	Oct. '67	11
N.H.	1967	--	A	May '68	11
N.C.	1957	--	A	1957	979
N.D.	--	1957	--	--	--
Ore.	1965	1957[b]	A	March '66	96
Pa.	--	1963	--	--	--
R.I.	1966	1966	A	Oct. '66	13
S.C.	1966	--	A	June '66	42
S.D.	1967	1967[b]	A	Jan. '68	9
Tenn.	--	1967	--	--	--
Utah	1967	1967	A	Dec. '67	30
Vt.	1966	1968	A	July '66	16
Va.	--	1956	--	--	--
Wash.	1967	1961[b]	A	Jan. '68	15
W.Va.	--	1959	--	--	--
Wis.	1965	1913[b]	A	Oct. '65	17

@Key to answers to: Prison program implemented?

A. Yes.
B. Program is in planning stage.
C. No response to our questionnaire from this state; this report based on David A. Bachman, Work-Release Programs for Adult Felons in the United States: a Descriptive Study, M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1968, Table 3.

[b] Prison department of the state reports work release has been implemented by some of the local jails.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Of the 28 programs already implemented or in the process of being implemented, we received information on the organizational structure of 25 programs, Georgia has not progressed in its implementation sufficiently for reliable description. Information was not received from Massachusetts and Delaware.

Of the 25 programs, ten had established positions which can be described as a specialized supervisor or coordinator of work release. The occupant may decide whether an inmate will be placed on the program, but usually this authority is reserved for a higher official. In California, the head of the local facility makes the decision. In six states the official directly responsible for work release also handles other treatment functions at a level below that of a deputy director. In Iowa work release is integrated within a bureau of social services which coordinates all phases of inmate treatment and discharge. The supervisor of Colorado's vocational training in the correctional institution also heads the work-release program. Hawaii, Michigan, and South Carolina include the program under other kinds of release programs. Michigan's work-release program also involves operation of community-based correctional facilities. Work with jails is combined with supervision of work release in Florida and South Carolina.

The equivalent of a deputy director supervises the program in Indiana, Rhode Island, and Washington. In Indiana he also is in charge of all juvenile institutions. In Washington he supervises the adult corrections program. In Rhode Island the warden conducts direct supervision under control of an assistant director. Nebraska and Utah place work release under the head of institutional industries.

With comparatively small prisoner populations, the director assumes directo control in Alaska, Connecticut, Maine, and Vermont.

Although they hold the authority for final approval of work-release condidates, prison officials share it in varying degrees with sentencing judges and parole boards. With five exceptions, prison officials need not follow recommendations of judges. Laws in New Hampshire and Wisconsin require the judge be notified ten days in advance. Indiana demands consideration of the court's recommendation if a quarter of the sentence has not been served. The Probation and Parole Commission must concur in Florida if the applicant is not in the last six months of his sentence. In the District of Columbia the sentencing judge must recommend work release for misdemeanants, but his recommendation is not a factor in felon cases.

In nine of the 25 states the prison authorities decide on work release with concurrence of parole authorities. In 14 states prison authorities do not have such formal relationships with paroling authorities. In Wisconsin, one of the remaining states, authority is granted to the Department of Public Welfare which includes both prison and parole authorities. In California, the other remaining state, the Director of Corrections administers both prison and parole programs, but decision-making is complicated by authorization to transfer state prisoners to county facilities where the local administrator determines whether a particular inmate goes on work release.

Work release is consistent with a general movement toward decentralization of treatment facilities to overcome adverse consequences of institutionalization. "People-serving" agencies have moved toward localization of authority and away from concentration of authority in centralized headquarters. A related pattern has been increased concern about the adverse consequences of moving clients from their home community into gigantic treatment establishments. To the extent that a particular program supports a philosophy of individualized treatment, work release lends itself to delegation of authority. The inmate is granted a degree of autonomy in that his part-time location in the free community provides a degree of permissiveness. Selection of an inmate for this status entails a more profound analysis of the inmate's capacity for self-discipline and for responsibility in a world offering a wider range of behavioral alternatives than penal confinement.

To test the degree of decentralization in programs, the questionnaire asked: "At what level of the organization is the final decision on the inmate's application usually made?"

Eight states reported the decision was made at the local prison unit, suggested the greatest degree of decentralization. Four states reported that a work-release section at the central headquarters made the decision. Nine states reported that the agency director made the decision. Illinois has not proceeded in its implementation plans to the point of clarifying the issue. Other states have more complex arrangements. North Carolina is experimenting with a compromise arrangement wherein divisional headquarters in the field make the decision subject to veto by a work-release section in the central headquarters. Iowa relies on a committee composed of personnel drawn from the central headquarters, parole administrators, and the correctional institutions. In Colorado's pilot program at the Reformatory, a screening committee at the unit is composed of representatives of the Colorado Department of Employment, the Department of Adult Parole, and the Reformatory staff.

In summary, the general thrust among most programs is toward various degrees of centralization in decision-making. However, some promising experiments are underway to find a useful compromise between extreme centralization and the degree of local autonomy which would interfere with the development of consistent principles.

With the introduction of a new program as potentially innovative as work release, prison executives are aware of the adverse public reactions. An error in decision-making can stimulate in light of the "convict bogey." The program is especially likely to be operated under a tight rein in its initial stage.

SELECTION AMONG CANDIDATES

The selection of work releasees can be initiated in three general ways. The inmate can bring up the possibility at the time of sentencing or after he has begun his sentence. The sentencing judge can suggest the possibility to the offender and/or include the recommendation for work release in the sentence. A member of the prison staff may initiate the idea.

The questionnaire asked: "Where does the consideration of an inmate for work release originate?" Most states reported that the inmate volunteers on his own. Four states reported that a prison employee solicits inmates whom he deems eligible.

The choice among alternative ways of initiating the process of selection is more complex than our question indicated. Both inmates and prison officials have a part in the decision no matter the relative emphasize on either of the factors. The strong vote for inmate self-initiation suggests the importance of the inmates self-identification with the objectives of work release because of the special reliance on self-discipline and personal responsibility. However, the limited alternatives available to a prisoner make volunteering for work something less than volunteering in the free community. Even in those states emphasizing inmate self-initiation, the evaluation of the officials would determine the outcome.

Most statutes do not rule out inmates simply because they have a long sentence to serve. However, half of the states with a program in operation, or planning to implement one, there are limitations. In North Carolina and California an indefinite life term can be converted into a fixed term. In North Carolina the recommendation of the sentencing court must be considered if the inmate has not served a quarter of his sentence. Massachusetts has a similar limitation if less than a sixth of the sentence has been served.

Two administrative patterns are found in measuring eligibility according to the proportion of sentence already served. In measuring from the beginning of the sentence, Illinois requires half of the minimum sentence be served and Rhode Island one sixth of the sentence. Reflecting definition of work release as a bridge between penal confinement and life in the free community, some other states measure eligibility from time of probable release to the community. Michigan and Nebraska require that there be less than a year to serve. The limit is six months before release for the District of Columbia,Hawaii,Utah and Florida.

Hawaii and Florida provide exceptions for cases of unusual merit. In Indiana the inmate must be within six to ten months of eligibility for a parole hearing.

The bulk of the states do not refuse work-release privileges simply because he has served previous prison sentences, depending rather on consideration of each case on its merits.

Do selection policies rule out inmates on the basis of the legal category of the offense for which are serving time? Nine states reported no arbitrary restrictions, but only the statutes of Rhode Island and Illinois include specific prohibitions. Rather the elimination of certain legal categories is a matter of administrative policy. Greatest concern is expressed over assaultive or violent offenses and sexually aggressive offenses. Reservations against murderers are expressed by only four states. Rejection of narcotic offenders is more frequent than rejection of alcoholics. Some arbitrary prohibitions reflect personality assessments rather than legal categories per se: serious mental disturbance, professional criminals, and escapists.

FINDING JOBS FOR INMATES

To investigate the handling of issues involved in securing employment, the questionnaire asked: "Indicate in percentages your estimation of the relative importance of each of these methods of obtaining employment for the work-release inmates." Predominant methods were listed.

When the inmate continues the job he had before sentence, emphasis is placed on preservation of the pre-confinement employment situation and, by implication, the set of family and community relationships centered about satisfactory employment. The states reported low reliance on this method. When the inmate has served appreciable time in prison, the probability of regaining his job is not high. Furthermore, the low quality of previous employment for many prisoners makes this method of locating work-release jobs inferior as a means of upgrading their future employment opportunities. The possibility of utilizing treatment and training programs of the correctional institution are undermined.

A small proportion of the prisoners may be able to continue to conduct a business or profession in which they had been self-employed. States reported little, if any, use of this method.

A friend, family member, or other person may offer a job to a particular inmate as a means of easing the adverse consequences of penal confinement. Most states use this mode of job acquisition to a modest degree. Alaska, Hawaii, and Washington reported particular emphasis on this mode.

Twenty-one of the 25 states reported that half to all of the jobs were obtained through efforts of the correctional agency. Because of high turnover among work-release jobs affected by seasonal and cyclical unemployment, the time-consuming tasks of this mode of job acquisition become a part of every program once well established.

All other factors held constant, the last mode is most likely to provide means of selecting inmates according to criteria consistent with the official goals. However, there must be accommodation to the place that work release gains within the overall labor market of the community. This place depends on the demand-supply relationship and the receptivity of employers. To these factors, the prison must relate the variety of skills available among prisons, the quality of vocational training provided by the prison, the degree of correction between the job skills taught and the kinds of skills in demand in the free community, the prisoners' attitudes toward work and employment discipline, and their receptivity to the idea of supporting themselves and their dependents while a prisoner.[1]

This mode places a new administrative burden on the staff for tasks of negotiating with present and potential employers, selecting inmates to fit the job demands of the community, increasing the quality of available jobs for sake of providing the inmates with genuine job opportunities after release, and upgrading vocational training.

HOUSING AS A FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM

Housing of work releasees raises dilemmas when a prime purpose is to minimize costs. Usually, the prisons were located according to principles inconsistent, sometimes conflicting, with the ideal housing.

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[1] Elmer H. Johnson, "Work Release: A Study of Correctional Reform," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 13, (October 1967), pp. 525-528.

arrangement for work release. Work-release units should be dispersed throughout the state, whereas the previous history usually favored concentration of prisons in areas isolated from population centers. Personnel costs are minimized by concentrating prisoners so administrative procedures can be standardized. The inherent premises of work release centers around individualized handling of inmates in selection and supervision.

Difficult issues are raised because the half-free status of work releasees places them in a category unfamiliar among prisoners. They have potential for smuggling contraband to the usual prisoners. On the other hand, the usual surveillance and control techniques of the security prison are inconsistent with the premise of work release that these particular inmates are trustworthy and capable of responsibility.

Are there certain categories of prisoners already present in prison before work release which could include this new breed? Policies in housing work releasees indicate that prison authorities have identified two general categories as congenial to this new purpose.

One would be the trustee prisoners who traditionally are assigned work which either requires an unusual degree of independent action or places the inmate in a work location where usual custodial surveillance and control can not function effectively. For trustees, "trustworthiness" implies avoidance of violence or escape attempts, but, for work releasees the term also suggests identification with the values of the outside community, a quality not necessarily shared by trustees. The trustee's psychological qualities may differentiate him from the less trustworthy prisoners only in degree and then only within the limited opportunities of his trustee role within the circumscribed prison world. His psychological equivalency with the work releasee depends on the particular function the trustees serve within the social system of the specific prison.

Another population category would be prisoners housed separately in preparation for their imminent parole or discharge. Here trustworthiness is suggested by the fact that some of the prisoners have been deemed worthy candidates for parole. Discharge on completion of sentence is not necessarily associated with the inmate's personal qualities. Inmates in a pre-release unit are not necessarily the equivalent of work releasees who, presumably, have been "hand-picked" for satisfactory performance in the half-free status. Nevertheless, the residents of a pre-release unit are pressed to orient themselves toward participation in the outside community. The pre-release unit usually is isolated from the rest of the prison so that the usual surveillance and control techniques can be lifted. It is in this sense that the community-based correction movement, currently under way in the United States, includes both pre-release and work release as functions of local community correctional centers.

The housing of work releasees raises issues related to location of housing in reference to the job market. The definition of the prison as a holding place for the desperate and dangerous criminal caused many prisons to be located in areas remote from the heavily populated centers where most work-release jobs exist. Furthermore, if work release is to provide employment the inmate can retain after release from prison, the locales should be sufficiently numerous to give favorable odds that work release jobs will be located near the eventual home of the former prisoner.

The questionnaire responses suggest many administrators are struggling to cope with the discrepancy between current housing resources and those required for work release. In a few instances, there has been genuine progress in eliminating the discrepancy. In other instances, ingenuity has been exhibited in getting a program under-way without appropriate housing.

In terms of number of states, the most frequent pattern is to use facilities physically separate from the usual prisoners but administratively related to a regular prison. This facility usually is used also for trustees. Another pattern, more rare, is to house work-releasees in a special unit designed for inmates scheduled for release from prison.

North Carolina has a special advantage in that it has inherited a system of small prison comps scattered throughout the state to provide labor for highway maintenance. Reduction in prisoner labor on highways made a number of the prison camps available for the work-release program. In addition, the Department of Correction constructed several special work-release facilities at prison units. California houses in special community correctional centers those prisoners on work release under state control. However, it also turns some state prisoners over to counties which operate a work-release facility.

Several housing strategies are used by other states, but there is great variation among the combinations of strategies. Iowa places some work releasees in a special facility with other trustworthy prisoners, but others are sent to city jails or privately operated half-way houses. Oregon places some at one end of a dormitory in a prison annex and others in jails or a county institution. Vermont places the females with the regular women prisoners but the males with the inmate farm workers.

The responses of some states suggest a search for a specialized facilities but the necessity to operate initially with existing facilities. South Dakota reports the work-releasees are placed with trustees outside the main prison, but legislation permits placing them in county jails. New Hampshire places them with the regular population but "hopes" to develop a separate facility. Nebraska employs a separate facility within the regular prison, but "the law permits contracts with other units of government or private concerns." Similarly, Wisconsin refers to the possibility of arranging for private facilities, jails or correctional.

All of the states charge something for "room and board." The method of determining the assessment and the amount of assessment varies among the states. The usual assessment is a flat daily rate. Several states have a varying scale. Iowa, Wisconsin, and Oregon tie charges to the number and cost of meals. Minnesota, Washington, and California vary charges according to the institution where the inmate is housed. Utah and the District of Columbia base charges on earnings.

EXTENSION OF PRIVILEGE BEYOND EMPLOYMENT

Specifically defined, work-release privileges entail only the permission granted the inmate to enter the free community for those hours necessary for salaried employment. However, the legislation and administrative practices reveal a broader interpretation already exists.

Limitations tend to be loosened by the difficulties of setting boundaries between the prisoner status and the salaried worker status at the place of employment. Social events sometimes are sponsored by the employer to create psychological bonds between the workers and their supervisors. Examples would be an office party or company picnic. Generally, the states either prohibit or sharply restrict the inmates' participation in off-work-hours activities of the employing organization. Thirteen states prohibit the practice. Only Alaska, Hawaii and Vermont report simply that they permit attendance of social functions related to the employing organization. Other states attach conditions or indicate very special circumstances must be involved. For example, Iowa reports such affairs as a union meeting would be acceptable. South Carolina does not permit attendance of events when alcoholic beverages are served. New Hampshire permits attendance if visiting with the family members is not involved.

Probably the sponsorship of opportunities for direct interaction with the family in its natural setting draws the least support from correctional agencies. Although there is universal acclaim for the work-release goal of strengthening or maintaining the prisoner's affiliation with his family, it is a different matter when the issue involved official sanctioning of the prisoner's release for unsupervised interaction within the family circle for a stated period.

Why this distinction? The release of inmates into the community runs counter to attitudes that the convicted criminal poses a threat to life and/or property and that his release into the community erodes the punitive purpose of prison confinement. These attitudes

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are less likely to be challenged when the period of relative freedom is tied directly to employment because the economic advantages to the prison and the presumed supervision of the inmate within the context of the employee role offer justifications for work release not emphasizing gratification of the personal interests per se of the inmate. Furthermore, the possibility of sexual relationships raises issues such as the impregnation of wife when the family has a financial and social crisis. The denial of normal sexual relationships is included in the price exacted of the offender by imprisonment. Then too, return of the inmate to the family circle implies that he is returning to the environment within which his offense situation arose. By authorizing home leave, the correctional agency is assuming a measure of direct responsibility for the consequences of his behavior while on home leave.

The reluctance to extend the boundaries of work-release privileges specifically to include visits to the family are indicated by the high proportion of states prohibiting this practice. Oregon reports six-hour leaves are araanged for sports events, family visitations, and so on, "usually accompanied by a sponsor." South Carolina apparently permits home leaves for inmates in a pre- release status. Alaska, Colorado, Connecticut, the District of Columbia, and Minnesota report home visits can be authorized. Hawaii provides 30-hour weekend furloughs with immediate families. North Carolina's home leaves are granted to "eligible" inmates for one weekend in each 30 days.

Attendance of educational or vocational training classes in schools in the community is usually regarded as a worthy extension of work-release concept. Only two states (Maryland and Utah) reported flatly that inmates were not permitted to engage in educational activities in lieu of employment.

Several other reasons are advanced for extending release beyond employment purposes. The District of Columbia, Vermont, and Wisconsin refer to release to obtain treatment not available in correctional institutions. Maryland, Rhode Island and Vermont allow inmates to do personal shopping after work hours. Florida authorizes release to allow selected inmates to serve voluntarily "a public or non-profit agency in the community." Alaska and Iowa refer to church attendance.

SUMMARY

Our questionnaire revealed that at least 21 states have implemented a program and that four other states are preparing to do so. Overall, work release is a movement which merits respect as genuine innovation within American corrections. These programs appear to be in direct confrontation with the fundamental difficulties encountered by a reform movement. The new approach is being incorporated within the organizational structure of the correctional system in various ways according to differences in the history and the overall organizational structure of government among the states. Furthermore, work release must be accommodated to the different circumstances imposed by variation in size of prisoner population, quality of existing resources, and relative location of prisons in reference to the potential job market for work releasees.

Considering the authoritarian traditions of prisons, remarkable efforts are underway to insert flexibility and individualistic handling of inmate in selection and supervision. Further evidence is the large proportion of state agencies which have accepted the difficulties of locating jobs for work-releasees. A number of issues center around provision of the proper type of housing. Finally, there are diverse efforts to extend the boundaries of release beyond employment per se.

Chapter 4: Work Release in North Carolina: Introduction

The remainder of this report will be concerned with data derived from records of inmates placed on work release. All cases were terminated from the program at the time the data collection was completed.

Concentrating on the 561 work releasees who were granted parole, Chapter 5 will evaluate the ultimate consequences of work release in terms of behavior after return to the free community. In Chapter 6 the 561 work releasees are combined with another 1,689 work releasees who were not granted paroles. This total population of work releasees will be studied to isolate patterns of selection of inmates for work release, differences in outcome of the work-release experience within the prison, and of the operation of the program.

Chapter 7 takes up a key purpose of our investigation to determine whether work releasees differ from other prisoners in their performance on parole. Implied in this purpose is that the work-release experiences have differential effect in making a candidate qualified for parole. Advocates of work release might assume that these experineces would be superior to usual imprisonment in preparing an inmate for parole. On the other hand, some parole supervisors have contended that work-releasees make more difficulties than usual prisoners in parole supervision and in parole performance. To provide objective assessment of this disagreement, a sample was drawn of parolees who had not been on work release while in prison. This sample of 503 parolees will be compared in Chapter 7 with the 561 work releasees who were paroled. The comparisons include parole outcome, qualities of work and general behavioral adjustment on parole, and key types of problems encountered by the parolee.

Introduction of work release on a large scale in North Carolina was made possible by concern over prospects of major increases in the size of the inmate population and over a fundamental difficulty in financing prison operations. The State Highway and Public Works Commission was experiencing increased costs for highway construction. Greater mechanization in maintenance had made use of unskilled prison labor less feasible, thus undermining the basis upon which the county work camps had been merged with the State prisons under the Highway Commission in 1933. The Depression had created serious financial problems for local government in 1933 when it was thought that gasoline taxes could be diverted to finance the prison and parole programs through providing of inmate labor for highway maintenance. After separation of the prisons from the Highway Commission in 1957, pressure increased to end diversion of highway funds to support correctional agencies. Although prison enterprises were expanded, resistance from the private sector restricted this strategy even though the State's constitution required all penal institutions to be as nearly self-supporting as possible. At the same time, authorities were trying to improve the quality of rehabilitation programs. Any improvement in the assignment of worthy inmates to treatment or prison industrial programs reduced the supply of employable and trustworthy prisoners to highway maintenance. As a consequence, the prisons were having increased difficulty in supplying the thousands of qualified prisoners required by the agreement with the Highway Commission.

North Carolina was particularly prime as a setting for work release for four additional reasons. As one of the relatively few prison systems with a heavy population of misdemeanants, North Carolina prisons served the incarceration function of the local county jail. The public usually considers jail inmates to be less of a threat to community safety than the prison inmates. Although this assumption is questionable, North Carolina prisons do not suffer the exaggerated public concern over placing of prisoners within the community. Second, this public attitude had permitted, and had been further strengthened by, a prison Labor Service program whereby selected inmates work for State and local government agencies in tasks ranging from unskilled labor through garbage collection to skilled jobs. These agencies pay the Department of Correction a daily per capita fee without salary for the inmate. Third, highway maintenance by prisoners had habituated the people of North Carolina to the sight of inmates physically present in the community.

Fourth, use of prisoners for highway maintenance requires the dispersion of prisoners in relatively small prison units throughout the State. Relatively little capital investment was required to provide work-release quarters throughout the State. The location of some of the units were readily accessible to the urban labor markets. When the unit did not have this advantage, the reduction of highway labor requirements for the unit sometimes threatened the economic feasibility of continuing operations there. In some instances, local prison officials frequently were especially motivated to provide enthusiastic support to work release as a means of continuing their employment in their home community.

North Carolina's interest in work release was stimulated by a popular magazine article on Wisconsin's Huber Law.[1] At the suggestion of Governor Luther Hodges, William R. Bailey, Prison Director, and V.L. Bounds, then Assistant Director of the Institute of Government, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, inspected Wisconsin's day-parole program. A bill based on their report was drafted for the 1957 General Assembly by a committee of government officials, chaired by the Prison Director.[2]

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[1] Robert M. Yoder, "Wisconsin Throws Them out of Jail," *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 4, 1956, pp. 25ff.

The Governor appointed a special committee including the Commissioner of Public Welfare, the chairman and a member of the Board of Paroles, a representative of the State Attorney-General, and a representative of the Institute of Government. The committee consulted the superior court judges and obtained support from all but one.

Persuading the General Assembly to enact the legislation was successful largely because the committee members were leaders with special competence and power in agencies active in affairs germane to work release and because the superior court judges supported the proposal.

However, the first work-release statute restricted eligibility to misdemeanants whose previous prison sentences

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[2] V. L. Bounds, "Outline of Measures to Determine the Feasibility of Separating the State Prison System from the State Highway and Public Works Commission," Chapel Hill: Institute of Government, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, June 1955, (mimeo), pp. 39-40.

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were less than six months and who were recommended by the sentencing court. In the first two years only 16 inmates were recommended by the sentencing courts, and half of them were unable to find suitable employment.[3] Subsequently, the statute was liberalized to include felons and to empower the Board of Paroles and the Department of Correction to extend the privilege to prisoners not recommended for work release by the sentencing judge.

Lastly correctional reform is more likely when it is stimulated from within the action agency and when it follows a pattern of accommodations among the groups making up both the external and internal systems of which the prison is a participant. Usually innovation in correction has come from outside the agency. Reform induced from within the correctional agency is much more likely to become a permanent part of administrative practice. Since the administrators are part of the environment to be revised, they are less likely to be dissuaded by false arguments raised against the change. The insights gained in the process of change awaken the innovators to needs and potentialities previously unrealized. Organizational change stimulated by the prison administration

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[3] W.L. Bounds, "Changes in Prison Law and Administration in North Carolina, 1953-1960," Chapel Hill: Institute of Government, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, March 1960, (mimeo), p. 138.

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involves three separate but interrelated groups in its accommodative process: (1) the other public and private institutions that are involved in the particular area of criminology to undergo change, (2) the prison employees, and (3) the inmates to be affected by the change. One of the promising qualities of the work-release approach is that it is an example of internally-induced reform. Secondly, it requires all three of these interrelated groups to become involved in the series of accommodations which must occur if genuine and lasting reform is to be accomplished.

This report centers attention on an innovative program of North Carolina which promises to bring lasting correctional reform within the general movement we described as community-based corrections in the first chapter. As an innovation, introduction of work release unleashes unanticipated consequences. In reacting to these consequences, prison administrators will determine the ultimate significance of the innovation. The next chapter opens the investigation of the conseuqences, both anticipated and unanticipated.

Chapter 5: Work-Release Inmates Who Were Paroled: Correlates Of Behavior After Release From Prison

Criminological literature offers comparatively few studies bearing on the ultimate consequences of a given program of treatment within a prison. This chapter takes advantage of a segment of our data which provide the opportunity to assess certain aspects of the behavior of work releasees after they have been released from prison on parole.

This segment consists of data on 410 white and 151 Negro work releasees who were granted parole. Throughout this chapter the reader should keep in mind that the terms "parole", "work release", or "inmate" refer to the same individual in various statuses in his movement through a career which moved him from the status of ordinary prisoner through work-release inmate to parolee. Here "parolees" are a special category in that they have been selected from a population of work-release inmates.

In assessing the ultimate consequences of a given program of treatment within a prison, the conclusions of this chapter must be considered to be limited. In the context of the North Carolina work-release program, "treatment" consists of the inmate's exposure to the marginal status of a half-free employee in the free community. This exposure usually does not entail preparation of the inmate in the institutional

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through special vocational training or counseling geared specifically to the work-release program. Previous to 1964 a sharply limited number of inmates in North Carolina received training in brick-laying, cooking, and clerical tasks. There were a few opportunities for academic education. However, pay-off of vocational training for work-releasees should be considered to be incidental and fortuitous.

"Treatment" consists of two aspects of events which are inherent in the life of the prison: the potentialities of certain categories of inmates for constructive reactions to genuine opportunities for socially responsible behavior and, second, the processes associated with classification of prisoners.

TWO STRENGTHS OF NORTH CAROLINA'S PROGRAM

The most impressive conclusion of this study is that the contemporary prison does not recognize the existence of a high potential for socially responsible behavior in large segments of the inmate population. The essentially punitive philosophy of our overall system of criminal justice favors an overemphasis on those offenders who are least amenable to correctional programs. The net consequence is that the inherent spirit of so-called "correctional" programs lumps the amenable prisoners with the incorrigible minority. Our contention is that virtually any form of genuine treatment will recruit the energy of some prisoners in support of movement toward "rehabilitation". Regardless of the efficacy of the treatment strategy per se, the release of this untapped energy will appear to show favorable benefits for the particular set of assumptions upon which the given strategy is based. It may be that some treatment strategies advanced as worthy in the name of undifferentiated humanitarianism and "professionalism" actually impede genuine rehabilitation of a significant proportion of their clients, but the tapping of this energy is sufficient to conceal the malfunctioning of the program per se. The program succeeds in spite of itself.

The strength of the North Carolina work-release program is that a large number of inmates were given the opportunity to release this untapped potential for constructive potential. An imaginative spirit of experimentation was released by the necessity to solve a pressing economic problem raised by changes in the Department's source of operating funds. Because the source of support for this experiment from outside the Department of Corrections was motivated only incidentally by commitment to prisoner rehabilitation, the Department was unable to mobilize the resources for a therapeutic approach to work release. The lack of supporting treatment programs made the untapped energy of prisoners particularly crucial.

The second strength of the North Carolina work-release program was its primary reliance on the informal procedures of classification. By "classification", we refer to the set of procedures and events which entail the evaluation and selection of prisoners for eligibility to be included in particular categories of prisoners. Such categories include membership in an academic class, in the population of an institution designed for first offenders or incorrigibles, in a particular prison industrial force, or in many other categories of assignment to quarters or programmed activities.

The total system of classification is too involved for consideration here. Rather, we limit ourselves to the general point that the host of procedures and inmate-versus-staff events can be differentiated by formal classification versus informal classification. "Formal classification" entails the work of special committees or functionaries assigned consciously and deliberately the responsibilities of evaluating inmates or making assignment decisions relative to placing individual inmates in particular categories intended to standardize the kinds of actions taken by the prison employees toward them. "Informal classification" refers to a wide variety of assessments and decisions made outside formal classification per se. However, informal classification may operate as an unrecognized but inherent aspect of formal classification.

Experienced prison employees develop a "folk wisdom" about the present characteristics and probable future behavior of inmates.

Usually, this "folk wisdom" is arbitrarily labeled as superstition, overly pragmatic, "non-professional", and opposed to effective prison administration. We suggest this arbitrary evaluation is premature and indiscriminate. Certainly, decisions based on folk wisdom are not necessarily efficient in consequences because they tend to be based on incomplete information and the personal interests of the employee. On the other hand, the use of a psychometric test administrated by a university-trained clinician does not guarantee that the decision-maker will be objective and have available all information pertinent to the particular issue he must decide for a particular inmate.

What does the decision-maker do under these circumstances? We contend that, in actuality, formal classification operates largely on the basis of the "folk wisdom" of informal classification because of the incompleteness of reliable information produced by the processes of formal classification as they function in most prisons and because the formal classification documents include much information and assessments which essentially are "folk wisdom".

Therefore the issue is how to use folk wisdom reliably and responsibly to achieve the ultimate purposes of corrections. The total elimination of folk wisdom is a false and undesirable goal. How can we take advantage of the constructive aspects of folk wisdom and make them supportive of an effective formal classification system?

The selection of candidates for work-release initially was based on a time-consuming evaluation of each candidate with the Director of the Department of Correction personally and directly giving final approval on the basis of a report which represented the best quality of formal classification available at the time. The consequence was that very few inmates were on the work-release program. When the Department acted to accelerate the program to a major degree, the final approval of the Director became somewhat an organizational fiction because of greater faith in the program and greater experience by supporting staff. For the period our data covers, a central office for work-release became for most cases the final decision-maker subject to the Director's final official authorization. However, the increasing case-load concurrently gave greater importance to the original recommendation of an inmate-candidate. In many instances, the local prison staff had previous knowledge of the inmate, sometimes on the basis of the inmate's reputation in the community and sometimes on the basis of previous experience with the inmate. We contend that this folk-wisdom of local employees became an essential element in the crucial intuitive aspects of every decision regarding another human being.

Therefore, we find that the second strength of the North Carolina work-release program in these early years of its rapid expansion was the reliance on folk wisdom as the heart of the procedures in selecting inmates for work release.

From the population of work-releasees, the Board of Parolees selected some inmates for parole. The processes of this selection made the paroled work-releasees different than the work-releasees not paroled. It would be hazardous to assume that conclusions reached for paroled work-releasees can be applied arbitrarily to those not paroled. Prisoners with short sentences are less likely to accept parole because they expect early release from prison without being subjected to parole supervision which could last five years. Furthermore, the Board of Parolees could not complete the processing of applications before completion of a short sentence because the man would have to complete a quarter of his sentence before he could be considered for parole. Then too, the Board of Parole does not necessarily accept as germane to parole the evaluation of prison authorities that a man is worthy for work release.

SELECTIVE CRITERIA AND PAROLE PERFORMANCE

If decision-makers are considering work release as a reservoir for parole candidates, what criteria are helpful in evaluating a particular inmate as a candidate for work release with the ultimate consequences of parole in mind? From another perspective, the question might be posed in terms of the ultimate outcome for work-release experience in terms of behavior after release in the community. From the second perspective, the work releasees who are paroled offer a clue to probable behavior of a selected group of inmates. Ideally, some of the work releasees not granted parole would share essential characteristics congenial to effective performance after release to the free community.

What criteria are immediately available to the decision-makers on the basis of the usual records of prisons or parole boards? We shall employ these criteria because realistically we do not expect most correctional systems to go beyond these oversimplified criteria when the authorities seriously consider the problems of selection. We do not imply that limitation to these criteria is the most effective employment of predictive devices.

With a high degree of consistency, the proportion of successful white parole terminations increased with the age of the parolee at the time he began his prison sentence. Successes comprised 67 percent of all white inmates ages less than 20 at time of admission compared with 78 percent of white inmates aged 40 years and over. The mean ages were 30.87 years for successes and 30.23 for failures. In comparison Negroes averaged 32.21 years for successes and 28.85 for failures. However, the increase in successes with higher ages of Negroes was more irregular than for whites.

Successful parole outcome was associated with lower recidivism. For whites, successful cases averaged .58 previous prison sentences compared with 1.07 previous prison sentences per parolee. Successful Negroes had .72 previous terms compared with 1.25 for failures.

For whites crimes against persons were most predictive of parole success; 77.4 percent had successful terminations. Although few robbers obtained parole, they had 90 percent success. Whites convicted of murder or manslaughter were 85.7 percent successes, and those convicted of assault 70.9 percent. Crimes against property had percentages of 69.9, with 64.9 percent for burglary and breaking-entering and 74.0 percent for larceny, theft and forgery. Moral offenses were successful in two-thirds of the cases. Whites convicted of traffic, family and sex offenses terminated parole successfully two-thirds of the time, whereas transgressors of various liquor laws were successful 70 percent of the time.

Negroes were most likely (66.7 percent) to complete parole satisfactorily when convicted of moral crimes, especially traffic offenses. The percentages were 33.3 for sex crimes, 64.3 per family crimes, 66.7 for liquor offenses, and 85.7 for traffic offenses. Crimes against persons (62.7 percent for Negroes) were less predictive of favorable parole outcome than for whites. The percentages for Negro sub-groups were 72.2 for murder and manslaughter, 57.1 percent for robbery, and 58.8 for assault. Property offenders (50.0 percent) were particularly unsuccessful for Negroes; 44.4 percent for burglary and breaking-entering and 54.2 for larceny, theft, and forgery.

Two measures of employment status are available to the decision-maker confronting a choice for parole of work releasees. The measures are type of employment before imprisonment and type of employment on work release. Since the two types do not necessarily converge for a particular inmate, the probabilities vary for a given occupational category. Table 1 presents the differences.

Level of education was not an effective predictor of parole performance. For whites successful cases averaged 5.49 years of schooling compared to 5.54 years for failures. Negroes averaged 5.05 years for successful cases and 5.18 for failures.

TABLE 1: PERCENTAGE OF PAROLEES ACHIEVING SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME BY TWO TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT AND RACE

	WHITE			
e of Industry	Work-Release Employment	Employment Before Prison	Work-Release Employment	Employment Before Prison
Construction	71.8	66.7	56.2	59.3
Manufacturing	71.2	74.1	60.0	58.8
Transportation	75.9	77.4	52.9	33.3
Farming	86.4	70.4	82.3	77.8
Logging-forestry	69.2	71.4	37.5	75.0
Trade-service	70.6	72.7	62.5	57.1
White Collar	55.0	80.6	42.9	66.7

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Married Men with wife present were the best prospects for parole; 74.9 percent of the white married men and 64.4 percent of the Negro married men were successful. Single men were more effective (67.8 percent of single whites and 52.1 percent of single Negroes) than separated, divorced and widowed men. For the latter group the percentage of successful terminations was 56.2 for whites and 46.7 for Negroes.

Felons of both races were more successful on the average than misdemeanants. For felons 72.9 percent of the whites and 63.7 percent of the Negroes had favorable parole terminations. For misdemeanants the percentage of successes was 67.8 of whites and 52.1 percent of Negroes.

LENGTH OF TIME ON WORK RELEASE

If work release is effective in preparing inmates for effective life after release, there should be increased probability of favorable parole outcome with greater length of exposure to work-release experience. Certainly, inmates will have different potentials for effective exploitation of the opportunities that work release would offer ideally. However, the objective of efficient work-release classification procedures would be to select those inmates who have superior potential.

As Table 2 shows, white parolees had increasingly favorable parole outcome as the length of time increased to the

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TABLE 2: LENGTH OF TIME ON WORK RELEASE BY PAROLE OUTCOME

Number of Months on Work Release	Success	Satisfactory	Marginal	Failure	Total Percentage
WHITE		PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS			
Less 3 months	65.8	(38.2)	(27.6)	34.2	100.0
3 - 6 months	70.5	(52.0)	(18.5)	29.5	100.0
6 - 9 months	77.9	(51.2)	(26.7)	22.1	100.0
9 months over	69.5	(44.1)	(25.4)	30.5	100.0
NEGRO					
Less 3 months	72.7	(22.7)	(50.0)	27.3	100.0
3 - 6 months	66.7	(41.7)	(25.0)	33.3	100.0
6 - 9 months	42.9	(22.9)	(20.0)	57.1	100.0
9 months over	54.5	(36.4)	(18.2)	45.5	100.0

point of nine months, then the trend dropped off largely because of the decline in proportion of the cases which received a favorable evaluation from parole supervisors. The Negroes failed to show a consistent pattern.

The length of time spent on work release is only one of the factors affecting the quality of the experience of the inmate. One of the additional factors is the length of time the prisoner was in prison before he was accepted for work release. It is probable that prolonged exposure to usual prison life would undermine his capacity to deal responsibly with the problems of free life. It could be that even prolonged exposure to work release would be less effective for a prisoner in comparison with a prisoner granted an equivalent period of work release but with earlier assignment to the program.

The evidence is that more prompt assignment to work release in the inmate's prison career has favorable consequences in parole outcome. For whites, favorable parole outcome cases averaged 4.02 months in prison before assignment to work release and failures averaged 4.83 months. Furthermore, the most satisfactory parole terminations averaged 3.63 months compared with 4.85 months for the cases receiving marginal assessments by the parole supervisors. Negroes exhibited the same pattern. Failures averaged 8.04 months in prison before

TABLE 3: PERCENTAGE OF PAROLE CASES WITH FAVORABLE OUTCOME BY RACE

Race of Parolee	NUMBER OF MONTHS IN CONFINEMENT Less 6 months	6-9 months	9-12 months	12-18 months	18 months over
WHITE	68.7	75.2	69.9	68.4	73.7
Satisfactory	49.2	50.5	46.6	45.6	44.7
Marginal	19.5	24.7	23.3	22.8	29.0
NEGRO	73.7	53.7	57.9	73.7	36.4
Satisfactory	50.0	19.5	36.8	47.4	13.6
Marginal	23.7	35.2	21.1	26.3	22.7

assignment to work release and successes 4.98 months. Among the successes, the most favorable cases averaged only 3.71 months and the marginal cases 6.53 months.

A familiar assumption is that the longer a man is in prison the greater is the possibility of adverse psychological consequences. Accordingly, we might speculate that the shorter the length of confinement the greater is the possibility of favorable parole outcome. However, our data do not support this speculation and suggest it is an oversimplification.

For both races there is no clearcut relationship in Table 3 between successful parole outcome and length of time in prison. The only trend is a slight decline in proportion of whites receiving satisfactory ratings from their supervisors as the period of confinement is lengthened. For whites rated as marginal in behavior on parole in spite of successful termination, the pattern was irregular.

If allowance is made for differences in length of time on work release within each category of period of confinement, a relationship emerges in Table 4 between length of confinement and the achievement of favorable parole outcome. For each race, parolees are categorized according to the upper limit of the time on work release possible within a given period of confinement: short period (up to six months), moderate period (up to nine months), and longer period (no upper

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TABLE 4: PERCENTAGE OF PAROLE CASES WITH FAVORABLE OUTCOME BY LENGTH OF SENTENCE, PERIOD OF CONFINEMENT AND RACE

Number of Months on Work Release By Parole Outcome	Less 6 Months	6 - 9 Months	9 - 12 Months	12 - 18 Months	18Months Over
PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH SUCCESSFUL PAROLE OUTCOME					
WHITE					
Short Period					
Less 2 months	61.9 (21)				
2 - 4 months	69.1 (55)				
4 - 6 months	70.0 (50)				
Moderate Period					
Less 4 months		64.0 (25)	69.2 (13)		
4 - 6 months		84.4 (32)	73.7 (19)		
6 - 12 months		76.7 (43)	68.3 (41)		
Longer Period					
Less 6 months				57.1 (21)	61.5 (13)
6 - 12 months				80.8 (26)	75.0 (16)
12 months over				60.0 (10)	88.9 (9)
NEGRO					
Short Period					
Less 2 months	60.0 (5)				
2 - 4 months	81.8 (11)				
4 - 6 months	72.2 (22)				
Moderate Period					
Less 4 months		64.3 (14)			
4 - 6 months		66.7 (6)			
6 - 12 months		42.9 (21)			
Longer Period					
Less 6 months				100.0 (6)	55.6 (9)
6 - 12 months				55.6 (9)	16.7 (6)
12 months over				75.0 (4)	28.6 (7)

limit specified).

Examination of Table 4 reveals that an increase in percentage of successful parole cases is associated with greater exposure to work release for all the white subgroups and most of the Negro subgroups. For the longer period of work-release experience, there are insufficient Negroes for a reliable trend.

Another exception worthy of special attention is the break in the pattern for several subgroups when the work-releasee has the maximum period of exposure to work release. It appears that exposure to work release has a point of diminishing returns and that this point varies with the length of the overall period of prison confinement.

CONTINUATION OF CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT

Did work release preserve the inmate's identification with the occupation he held before imprisonment? Table 5 is based on a rather loose identification in that the industrial categories are quite broad. Considering the generally low occupational quality of prisoners on the average construction and manufacturing set a good record for whites, farming and trade-and-service occupations maintained a reasonably high continuation of pre-prison occupations. Nevertheless, since the gross quality of the data exaggerates the advantage of work-release for preserving the inmates' identification with a specific pre-prison occupation, we find that the North Carolina program did little more than would be expected by chance. Table 5 suggests that length of confinement continues to operate to impede preservation of job linkages. Construction and manufacturing rates tend to deteriorate with increased confinement.

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DID THE PAROLEE CONTINUE HIS WORK-RELEASE JOB?

Many of the benefits claimed for work release are related to the possibility that the work-release is in a better position to find effective employment immediately upon his departure from prison. His work-release job, presumably, has counteracted the deleterious effects of imprisonment on his work skills and habits. Probably, the preservation of favorable attitudes toward work as a personally satisfying experience is more important than the possibility of a genuine enhancement of his vocational skills. Then too, his work-release job may provide a gateway to the employment market of the free community so the released prisoner is able to obtain employment immediately upon departure from the prison. Finally, there is the matter to which we now focus our attention: he may be able to continue his work-release job after he rejoins the community. If so, the sharp break between prison and post-prison experiences is ameliorated because pre-prison employment consitiutes psychological, as well as economic, preparation for a place in the life of the free community.

The norm was for work releasees to continue their job when placed on parole, 77.6 percent of the whites and 75.3 percent of the Negroes. The economic potential of the work-release job had important influence on the probability of job retention. All Negroes with skilled or semi-skilled jobs

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TABLE 5: PERCENTAGE OF PAROLEES WHO CONTINUED IN GENERAL OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY THEY HELD BEFORE IMPRISONMENT

	NUMBER OF MONTHS IN CONFINEMENT				
ccupation efore mprisonment	Less 6 Months	6 - 9 Months	9 - 12 Months	12 Months Over	Totals
	PERCENT IN OCCUPATIONS WHO RETAINED OCCUPATION ON PAROLE				
HITE					
Construction	55.2	71.4	60.0	51.8	59.6
Manufacturing	73.0	69.0	57.1	52.0	64.3
Transportation	30.0	20.0	50.0	12.5	25.0
Farming	41.7	0.0	0.0	45.4	35.7
Logging-forestry	0.0	50.0	- -	0.0	28.6
Trade-service	18.8	44.4	33.3	30.0	28.9
White collar	25.0	22.2	42.9	27.3	29.0
EGRO					
Construction	80.0	16.7	66.7	37.5	39.3
Manufacturing	50.0	50.0	0.0	25.0	35.3
Transportation	- -	- -	0.0	20.0	16.7
Farming	57.1	66.7	75.0	33.3	55.0
Logging-forestry	0.0	100.0	- -	0.0	25.0
Trade-service	57.1	70.0	33.3	53.3	57.1
White collar	100.0	0.0	- -	- -	50.0

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continued their jobs, but only 70 percent continued unskilled jobs. Work release jobs were retained by 69.7 of the unskilled whites, 88.8 percent of the semi-skilled, and 93.3 percent of the skilled.

Continuation of the work-release job into parole was not necessarily final. For whites 39.8 percent did not change from the work release job area during parole, 37.8 percent changed but later returned, and 22.4 percent changed permanently. For Negroes 52.7 percent did not change from the work-release job area , 22.7 percent changed but returned, and 24.6 percent changed permanently. Retention of the work-release job area was consistent with the level of skill for both races with the unskilled the most likely to switch job areas permanently.

When the work-release job was not continued, the parolee was particularly prone to take a job which was in a different occupational sphere than that of his work-release job. If he left his work-release job after a period of parole, he usually moved into a different occupational sphere, but this tendency was less marked than for the inmate who dropped the work-release job immediately upon parole.

As the number of work-releasees put on parole increased, the tendency to retain the work-release job declined. When work-release parolees are categorized according to the year they were placed on work release, the absolute number of inmates placed on parole increases consistently with the successive years. More to the immediate subject, the proportion of inmates failing to continue their work-release job into parole became greater with the same consistency.

Parole outcome. When the man continued his work-release job into at least the initial period of parole, the probability of successful parole termination was enhanced. This favorable outcome supports the view that a key benefit of work-release employment is its usefulness in bridging the gap between penal confinement and post-release life in the free community. Our data suggest that this benefit is most likely to be achieved through providing a job entry into the community rather than necessarily providing a long-term job. However, when the parolee retained his work-release job throughout parole, he was more likely to be rated as satisfactory in parole performance. Parolees who retained their jobs only temporarily were more likely to achieve successful terminations on the basis of marginal performance.

Work release made its most impressive contribution to ultimate success on parole when parolees continued the work-release jobs only during the initial period of parole. For this class, 78.5 percent of the whites and 80.6 percent of the Negroes terminated their parole successfully. For men

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who continued the job throughout parole, successful termination was accomplished by 68.6 percent of the whites and 61.3 percent of the Negroes. When the job was not continued into parole, 64.5 percent of the whites and 36.7 percent of the Negroes were successful.

Length of confinement. The probability that the parolee would continue his work-release job throughout his parole career differed according to the length of time he had served in prison. The longer the length of confinement the lower the probalility that whites would retain the work-release job. Of those serving less than three months, 57 percent held the job throughout parole. The percentage declined consistently to 27 percent of whites serving a year or more. Concurrently, the share of inmates continuing the job only for the initial parole period rose from 28 percent to 43 percent but with less consistency in pattern. Negroes exhibited similar but less consistent patterns.

A latent factor was the relationship between the work-release and parole locales. With a different locale, the parolee was less likely to be able to retain his work-release job through commuting. Among the whites, the parolees with different locales were less likely to retain the work-release job as the period of confinement increased. Probably the explanation is that longer period of confinement was associated

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with a greater necessity to find a work-release job away from his home community. When the inmate had served a relatively brief misdemeanant sentence, he would be more likely to be located in a prison near home and to be able to retain linkage with pre-prison employment. The prisoner with a longer period of confinement would require a job to qualify for parole. The work-release job would enable him to qualify for parole, but, after he was established onnparole, he would be more likely to change to a job more proximate to his parole residence.

For the short-term prisoner, there was more likely to be a long-term fit between the work-release job and the inmate's needs for long-term employment of parole. White parolees who retained their work-release job averaged 10.44 months of imprisonment compared with 11.89 months for those retaining the work-release job only temporarily and 12.37 months for those not continuing the job. Similar averages for Negro parolees were 18.21 24.13, and 18.44 months respectively. The relatively low average for Negroes not continuing the work-release job cannbe attributed to parolees who had different parole residences than for work-release. Negroes are heavily concentrated in coastal North Carolina whereas the work-release program is most active in the central Piedmont. Apparently distance between parole and work release locales had greater impact on short-term Negro prisoners. An-

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other important factor would be the lower average quality of work-release jobs for Negroes as indicated by their undue representation among the unskilled. Their work-release jobs had less advantages over other jobs available to the parolee in the home community.

The likelihood of retaining the work-release job into parole was related to the length of time served in prison before assignment to work release. For both races the proportion of inmates continuing the job tended roughly to decline along with increased time before assignment. Of course, the period of time before assignment would be limited by the overall period of confinement. There would be less risk in early assignment to work release of a short-term prisoner as compared with a man facing a long sentence because prospects of impending outright release from prison usually inhibits misbehavior while in the half-free status of the work-releasee.

However, the association between early assignment to work release and retention of the work-release job into parole suggests something other than this kind of risk. The very short sentence is unlikely to motivate the inmate to seek or to be approved for parole because the North Carolina Board of Paroles will not consider a case until a quarter of the sentence has been served and additional time is required for administrative processing. Therefore, the low risk of the very short-term prisoner is not crucial to our study group of work-releasees who were paroled.

We suggest early assignment to work release indicates a prognosis by prison officials that the inmate possesses personal qualities associated with trustworthiness which also are congenial to the criteria applied by parole decision-makers. When the sentence is of sufficient length the selection of an inmate for work release would suggest he has an unusual potentiality for parole. The sentence must be of sufficient length to justify assignment to work release without excessive work-release case turnover and still make parole a reasonable prospect in terms of remaining sentence to be served after a reasonable period of work release service. To provide a reasonable length of service between work-release assignment and parole, early assignment to work-release is desirable. 1 The number of trustworthy inmates with this length of sentence can be maximized only if the assignment of the inmate to work release comes as early as possible in his period of confinement.

Because of the high job retention rates of inmates with a short period preceeding assignment to work release, it appears that less exposure to the experineces of ordinary prison life is associated with successful use of work release as a means of providing post-release employment for the prisoner.

The association may only indicate that "prisonized" inmates are less likely to be selected for work-release. However, the strong interest of North Carolina prison officials in expanding the work release program quantitatively lends support to the view that rigorous selection of cases is not the sole factor. There is justification for the interpretation that speedy assignment to work-release, in and of itself, promotes the retention of work-release jobs as a bridge to employment after discharge from prison.

Quality of work-release job. A useful strategy for enhancing the probability of job retention would be raising of the average level of skill of work-release jobs. The higher the level of skill of the work-release job the greater the probability that the parolee would retain the job permanently. Negroes were more likely than whites to continue the job throughout parole or for at least the initial period, but both races exhibited the same pattern. There was little difference between levels of skill in tendency to continue the job temporarily, but the association was inverse to level of skill. Difference between parole and work-release locale was one reason for failure to continue the work-release job, especially at the unskilled level. All Negroes who did not retain their jobs were unskilled. Because 53.7 per cent of the Negroes and only 39 per cent of the whites held unskilled jobs on work release, the high level of non-retention among unskilled Negroes had remarkable impact on the Negro parolees as a whole.

The probability of retention varied among the general categories of work release employment. Retention was most promising among jobs in manufacturing and least promising for logging and forestry in terms of proportion of inmates continuing their jobs throughout parole and the number of work-release jobs provided. Trade and service jobs were of first importance for Negroes, and they were more likely to hold these jobs than whites. Farming was of modest importance for both races, but Negroes had a higher retention rate. Second only to manufacturing, construction was of major importance in generating work-release jobs for whites, but retention was only reasonably likely. White-collar jobs were minor in number with the whites more likely than Negroes to continue the job throughout parole. Logging attracted few parolees, with Negroes more inclined to hold these jobs than whites.

Work performance on parole. If job retention can be accelerated, the probability of steady and effective work

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performance indicates work release, at least indirectly, does increase odds favorable to effective integration of the inmate into the labor force of the free community.

A measure of steady employment on parole is the average number of job changes. Retention of the work-release job throughout parole is associated with an almost complete absence of job changes: .02 changes per parolee for whites and .01 changes per parolee for Negroes. When the job was not continued the average rose to 1.77 for whites and 1.00 for Negroes. Temporary continuation of the job was associated with highest degree of job turnover -- 1.83 for whites and 1.97 for Negroes.

Job turnover is only one of the measures of the degree of geographical mobility. For both number of moves to new houses and to other cities, parolees continuing their work-release job throughout parole had the lowest degree of mobility. Parolees continuing the job only temporarily had the highest mobility.

However, job turnover does not necessarily counterindicate favorable work performance. Parole supervisors found little difference between parolees who retained work-release jobs versus those who did not continue the jobs. Among those retaining the jobs, 8.6 percent of the whites and 11.7 percent of the Negroes were evaluated as either unsatisfactory or poor in parole work performance. Among those continuing the job only temporarily, 11.7 percent of the whites and 9.1 percent of the Negroes drew negative assessments. The inadequacy of work performance was most marked among those who did not continue the job into parole, especially when the work-release and parole locales coincided. For inmates failing to continue work-release employment, 27.9 percent of the whites and 35.3 percent of the Negroes were scored as unsatisfactory or poor.

Increase in income on parole is another index of successful adjustment. Men who temporarily continued the work-release job had the highest proportion (50.8 percent for the whites and 52.4 percent for the Negroes) who gained pay increases. Those men who continued the work-release job throughout parole had the lowest proportion -- 12.4 percent for whites and 13.2 percent for Negroes. Of those who did not continue the job, pay gains were achieved by 28.0 percent of the whites and 20.7 percent of the Negroes.

Behavior on parole. Failure to continue the work-release job at least temporarily was associated with various indices of misconduct on parole. This association indicates that work-release employment, either directly or indirectly, was conducive to responsible behavior after release from prison. It is possible that the experience of work-release employment is prison and the function of work-release in providing adcess to post-release employment were directly favorable to development of responsible behavior among former prisoners. More probable is that the consecutive selection of inmates for work-release and, later, for parole produced a group of parolees particularly prone to responsible behavior. However, we are more concerned here with the influence of work-release job retention on subsequent parole behavior.

When a parolee's conduct is questionable, the usual procedure is to revoke his parole temporarily until a full investigation is completed. The data on issuance of temporary revocations indicates that whites not continuing their work-release jobs were most prone to parole misconduct, especially for cases resulting in permanent revocation. Whites continuing the job throughout parole had the smallest proportion of cases penalized through revocation. For Negroes, the best record for avoiding revocation was scored by inmates continuing their job only temporarily.

Whites continuing the work-release job were least likely to violate parole rules, and whites not continuing the job were most likely. However, the difference reflects the association between parole work performance and avoidance of rule violations. When parolees continuing their work-release job only temporarily had an inferior work performance on parole, they also were highly likely to violate parole rules.

It was the parolees who had satisfactory work performance who contributed the bulk of the non-violators regardless of the class of job-retention. However, non-violators were proportionately most important among effective workers in the class continuing the work-release job only temporarily and least important among effective workers in the class not continuing the job.

When rules were violated, white parolees continuing work-release jobs either permanently or temporarily tended especially to perpetrate new crimes or to engage in undersirable recreational associations. The new crimes tended to be violent, against property, or misuse of alcohol. White parolees not continuing work-release jobs especially emphasized evasion of supervisory rules and failure to maintain financial and employment regularity. When a new crime was perpetrated, these parolees were more likely to be involved in traffic offenses. In other words, on the average, their new crimes were less serious than those for parolees who continued their work-release job, but they were more likely to commit crimes in general. Negroes failed to show reliable differences among the several job retention classes.

SKILL OF WORK RELEASE JOB

In a society which is supplanting kinship with occupation as the primary social status, work is of major sociolo-

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gical importance as an index to his prestige relative to other members of his society. In turn, a person's occupational status reflects the patterns of social differentiation which promote or prohibit his access to socio-economic opportunity. Higher status indicates his family and class affiliations in childhood and adolescence provided access to opportunities to learn a prestigious occupation. In this sense, his occupational status tells us something about the social conditioning he probably underwent in the course of the shaping of his personality. Occupational status is more accurate as a barometer of personality characteristics in another way. If we may assume that the individual gained prestigious occupational status through personal effort, higher occupational status indicates that he possesses individual qualities, such as capacity for dedicated and sustained effort, which are conducive to gaining of success in occupations requiring persistant study and practice.

We are interested in these personality correlates of occupational status because we propose to employ occupational status on work release as a predictor of parole performance. Does the quality of employment on work release influence the subsequent behavior of the inmate when he becomes a parolee? A positive answer is implied by the assumption that work-release experience is conducive to eliciting the inmate's personal commitment to the processes involved in making him a responsible citizen upon completion of his imprisonment. If he has a work-release job which generates a reasonable level of psychological and economic satisfactions, he is more likely to extend this personal commitment. If he has a skilled level job on work release, he gained it through competence he possessed before he entered prison because the North Carolina Department of Correction has yet to obtain the program resources essential to the quality of vocational training which would transform a significant number of unskilled workers at time of admission into prison into skilled workers at time of release from prison.

In assessing the level of skill of work-release jobs, we encountered formidable difficulties in selecting a reliable method of measurement because of the special problems associated with finding jobs for the kinds of persons who are sent to prisons. Prisoners are drawn disproportionately from the lower levels of occupational prestige present in the free community as a whole. This result is produced, in part, by characteristics of the lower socio-economic classes likely to result in those kinds of crimes particularly vulnerable for prosecution and for imprisonment under the current system of criminal law administration. These characteristics include: physical aggression, impulsive behavior, petty property crimes,

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public exhibition of personal vices, irregular employment, and lack of a community reputation for reliability according to middle-class standards. Another difficulty was the heterogeneity of occupations and work situations found in work release.

The impact of these difficulties was eased because our investigation focuses on differences between various categories of prisoners who were found worthy for work release. Although comparison of prisoners with non-prisoners would be useful in general, this comparison is incidental to our study. Therefore, our method of comparison is germane only to a population of prisoners. Higher occupational status is defined operationally only to represent superiority relative to other prisoners, not to represent superiority in the free community.

The best methodological solution available entailed selection of the hourly wage as a standard measure of the evaluation given to the inmate's work competence and the relative value of his efforts within the total employment market. Skilled work-release jobs were defined as those which drew $1.75 or more an hour. Unskilled jobs were paid no more than $1.25 an hour, and semi-skilled jobs were defined as those drawing from $1.25 to $1.75 an hour.

Race. Latent in comparisons between white and Negro parolees are the consequences of inferior job skill of Negroes within the labor force structure of the State and nation.

These consequences include inferior employment opportunities, lower work aptitudes, and less reliability as employees in the overall Negro population. These consequences, in turn, are the product of the inferior opportunity for learning and personality socialization for careers in satisfactory occupations because of the barriers erected against entry of Negroes into occupations above the unskilled level.

Work release is affected by these consequences in two general ways. First, candidates for work release are selected from a population of prisoners. This population previous had been selected by two consecutive sets of social processes. The first set consists of the individual's tendancies to perpetrate crimes. The second set involves the administration of criminal justice. These sets of social factors result in a population of prisoners who differ from the total population in the State in lower average levels of work skills and aptitudes. From this prisoner population, work-release candidates are selected in terms of superior work aptitude and behavioral trustworthiness. This selection counters some of the affects of general inferiority of the general prisoner population when compared with the total population of the State. However, the work releasees continue to be inferior on the average to the total population of the State. Because of the inferior employment status of Negroes in the overall State population on an average, work-release decision-makers have a particularly difficult task in locating skilled Negro prisoners and skilled work-release jobs for Negroes within that portion of the State's employment opportunities available to work releasees.

Second, the work-release approach has potential as a means of providing a fresh start for prisoners who have had inferior employment opportunities in the past. There is a cycle of inferior employment begetting inferior job skills which begets inferior employment opportunity. This cycle might be broken when the work-release program provides a higher level of employment than the prisoner would gain on discharge from prison. Later this chapter will offer evidence that a number of whites have raised their level of job skill. The results are less favorable for Negro parolees.

What do our data show about the work releasees who were granted parole? On an average whites held work-release jobs of higher skill than Negroes. Among work-release jobs held by whites, 12.7 percent were skilled, 48.0 percent semi-skilled, and 39.3 percent unskilled. For Negroes there were only 7.4 percent skilled, 23.0 percent semi-skilled, and a large 69.6 percent unskilled. The white concentration at the semi-skilled level and the Negro concentration at the unskilled level hold for both felons and misdemeanants.

For both races the proportion of skilled jobs declined

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as the years went by. As the number of work-releasees put on parole increased, the average level of their work-release experience declined in terms of skill. Among the inmates put on work release in the years 1957-1960, 41.2 percent of whites subsequently paroled and 37.5 percent of the Negroes had skilled jobs. In the 1963 cohort only 7.8 percent of the whites and 4.4 percent of the Negroes were in skilled jobs. Over this time span, both races increased the proportion of inmates with semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. However, the races differed in that the whites moved progressively toward greater concentration in the semi-skilled jobs whereas Negroes became increasingly concentrated in unskilled jobs.

Parole outcome. As a mark of the potential of a satisfactory job for providing economic and psychological gratifications, a work-release job of reasonable skill holds the most promise for effective adjustment after the inmate had left from prison.

For both races, parolees with skilled jobs on work release had the highest success rates on parole. For whites, the percentages of parolees which were successful were 78.0 for skilled, 70.7 for semi-skilled, and 74.1 percent for unskilled. The proportion of excellent cases declined consistently with level of skill. The unskilled surpassed the semi-skilled by virtue of the cases which were deemed terminated in spite of unsatisfactory behavior during the parole period.

For Negroes, the percentages of paroles which were terminated successfully were 80.0 for skilled, 66.7 for semi-skilled, and 58.8 for unskilled. The whites had a higher proportion of cases with a favorable parole outcome than Negroes for all levels except skilled. Because there were only 10 Negroes on skilled jobs during work release, this exception is not a reliable measure. Furthermore, the skilled Negroes tended to be successfully only after transgressions on parole. The unskilled category had the least satisfactory performance on parole among Negroes even for those cases terminated successfully.

In terms of various indices, the semi-skilled jobs were associated with the most favorable parole performance. Skilled inmates had the highest proportion (20 percent) who received a temporary revocation, whereas 13 percent of the semi-skilled Negroes and 12 percent of the unskilled Negroes received a temporary revocation. Only eight percent of the semi-skilled whites experienced revocation, compared with 13 percent of the skilled whites and 12 percent of the unskilled whites.

Men with skilled work-release jobs were least likely to perpetrate rule violations while on parole. When they did violate parole rules, the transgressions were particularly likely to be involved in undesirable recreational associations.

TABLE 6: PARADE OUTCOME BY SKILL OF WORK RELEASE JOB AND RACE

Parole Outcome By Race	Level of Skill of Work-Release Job				
	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Unskilled	Totals	Unreported
WHITE					
SUCCESS	78.0	70.7	74.1	72.9	32
Satisfactory	(63.4)	(49.7)	(47.4)	(50.4)	(18)
Marginal	(14.6)	(21.0)	(26.7)	(22.5)	(14)
FAILURE	22.0	29.3	25.9	27.1	22
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	--
Parolees	41	167	135	343	54
Still on Parole	2	2	4	8	2
Aborted	2	1	--	3	--
NEGRO					
SUCCESS	80.0	66.7	58.8	62.4	5
Satisfactory	(40.0)	(50.0)	(29.4)	(35.2)	(2)
Marginal	(40.0)	(16.7)	(29.4)	(27.2)	(3)
FAILURE	20.0	33.3	41.2	37.6	9
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	--
Parolees	10	300	85	125	14
Still on Parole	--	1	8	9	2
Aborted	--	--	--	--	--
Unreported	--	--	1	1	--

Semi-skilled whites were more likely than unskilled whites to violate rules. These violations tended to involve unauthorized change of job and failure to maintain financial and employment regularity. Unskilled were especially prone to evade prodedural rules involving parole supervision. Compared with whites, Negro parolees had a greater tendency to perpetrate additional crimes regardless of level of skill. Skilled and semi-skilled Negroes favored violations involving undesirable recreational associations. The unskilled Negroes were particularly involved in financial and employment irregularities and in evasion of supervision procedures.

For whites, parolees who held semi-skilled jobs on work release were given the best evaluation on parole work performance. Only 11 percent were rated as unsatisfactory or very poor compared with 15 percent of the unskilled and 18 percent of the former skilled work releasees. For Negroes 10 percent of both the skilled and semi-skilled levels were rated as deficient compared with 21 percent of the parolees who had unskilled employment on work release. Occupants of semi-skilled jobs on work release scored the best record of uninterrupted employment on parole.

Because of their low level of average pay, unskilled parolees had the greatest possibilities of a pay increase on parole. At this level 35 percent of the whites and 24 per-

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cent of the Negroes received pay increases. A third of the skilled Negroes had pay increases, but the small number of skilled Negroes casts doubts on the reliability of this percentage. Twenty-nine percent of the skilled whites and 27 percent of the semi-skilled received pay increases. Only 14 percent of the semi-skilled Negroes scored pay gains.

Regardless of the level of skill, whites exceeded Negroes in degree of changes in job, house, and city of residence while on parole. For both races, the skilled men had the lowest rate of job change and the unskilled men the highest rate. The semi-skilled group had the lowest rate of housing and inter-city movement with the skilled and unskilled groups differing little in this respect.

Translation into skill level of parole job. Was the level of skill of the work-release job translated into a similar level for the parole job? The answer is more favorable for whites than Negroes.

At the skilled and semi-skilled levels of work-release jobs, 90 percent of the whites obtained parole jobs of equivalent level. Furthermore, most of the remaining parolees with semi-skilled work-release jobs obtained skilled jobs on parole. Only 66.9 percent of the unskilled work-release jobs were translated into unskilled parole jobs. Improvement of job skill is indicated by the additional 26.3 percent of the unskilled white work-releasees who obtained semi-skilled parole jobs and the remaining 6.8 percent receiving skilled parole jobs.

On the other hand, Negroes were less fortunate in demonstrating improvement in skill level on parole. There were few Negroes with skilled work-release jobs and, of them, 70 percent obtained skilled parole jobs compared with 90 percent for the equivalent whites. At the semi-skilled level, all but one of the Negro parolees obtained equivalent jobs on parole. Ninety percent of the unskilled Negro work-releasees were employed in unskilled parole jobs. At all levels of skill, the Negroes were less successful than whites in achieving higher job status on parole than held on work release. The accomplishment was particularly deficient for the unskilled workers who comprised a larger proportion of Negroes than of whites.

Regardless of race, unskilled work-release jobs were least likely to be retained on parole and especially for the entire parole period. All of the Negroes and most of the whites who did not continue the work-release job into parole held unskilled jobs on work-release. The sufficiency of the work-release job for meeting the economic and psychological needs of the parolee is suggested by the relative success in raising the level of job skill while on parole. The insuf-

TABLE 7: WHITES: SKILL OF WORK RELEASE JOB COMPARED WITH SKILL OF PAROLE JOB

	Skill of Parole Job				
Skill of Work-Release Job	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Unskilled	Totals	Unreported
WORK RELEASE-PAROLE JOBS THE SAME					
Skilled	24	1	--	25	13
Semi-Skilled	3	82	2	87	--
Unskilled	--	1	35	36	--
Totals	27	84	37	148	14
Unreported	--	1	--	1	--
CONTINUED WORK RELEASE JOB TEMPORARILY					
Skilled	14	2	1	17	--
Semi-Skilled	8	50	1	59	5
Unskilled	8	15	33	56	5
Totals	30	67	35	132	10
Unreported	2	1	2	5	--
WORK RELEASE JOB NOT CONTINUED					
Skilled	2	--	--	2	1
Semi-Skilled	--	16	2	18	1
Unskilled	1	19	21	41	1
Totals	3	35	23	61	3
Unreported	5	13	3	21	7

TABLE 8: NEGROES: SKILL OF WORK-RELEASE JOB COMPARED WITH SKILL OF PAROLE JOB

	Skill of Parole Job				
Skill of Work-Release Job	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Unskilled	Totals	Unreported
WORK RELEASE-PAROLE JOBS THE SAME					
Skilled	7	--	1	8	--
Semi-Skilled	--	24	--	24	--
Unskilled	1	1	42	44	--
Totals	8	25	43	76	--
Unreported	--	--	--	--	3
CONTINUED WORK RELEASE JOB TEMPORARILY					
Skilled	--	--	2	2	--
Semi-Skilled	--	5	1	6	1
Unskilled	--	2	17	19	2
Totals	--	7	20	27	3
Unreported	--	1	2	3	1
WORK RELEASE JOB NOT CONTINUED					
Skilled	--	--	--	--	--
Semi-Skilled	--	--	--	--	--
Unskilled	1	4	21	26	3
Totals	1	4	21	26	3
Unreported	1	2	4	7	2

ficiency of unskilled work-release jobs is further indicated by the data on semi-skilled jobs. For whites the semi-skilled work-releasees who retained their jobs had greater success in moving up the income ladder to skilled jobs than did the semi-skilled work-releasees who did not continue the work-release job into parole. Negroes in general did not experience appreciable upward job mobility, but at the semi-skilled and skilled levels all parolees continued their work-release jobs.

WAS THE PAROLE RESIDENCE NEAR THE WORK-RELEASE FACILITY?

If work release is to provide employment which can be continued after the man leaves prison, it is necessary that the place of his work-release employment be reasonably adjacent to the locale of his parole. Ideally the work-release facility will be located near a population center generating a large number and variety of job opportunities so the work-release inmate can be fitted into the labor force of the community consistent with his own abilities and work interests and the needs of employers. If the interests of the inmates and employers are satisfied concurrently, the possibility of retention of work-release employment after discharge from prison is enhanced.

However, such commonality of interests loses pertinence when the prisoner's home community does not correspond with the locale of his work-release experience. The discrepancy between the two locales was reduced in North Carolina by the selection of many work-releasees from local prison units largely populated by residents of the nearby communities. In this particular sense, the work-release units qualify as the local correctional centers advocated as a means of improving the effectiveness of institutional corrections. The difficulty of this strategy for reducing the discrepancy in locales is indicated by the increased proportion of parolees locating away from the community of the work-release facility as the number of men placed on work-release increased over the years. Efforts to increase the number of work-releasees will aggravate the difficulty.

The discrepancy may be reduced also by willingness to resettle in the local community as a means of meeting the condition of parole that he have prospects for a job.

The key question of this section concerns the various correlates of coincidence between work-release and parole locales.

If the continuity of work-release and parole experiences can be maintained, regularity can be provided for the initiation of the former prisoner into community life. When the locales coincided the parolee was more likely to continue in the same occupational sphere as for work-release even if the work-release job is retained only temporarily. We determined whether the parolee changed from the occupational area of work release after going on parole. Of those who did not change, 95 percent of the whites and Negroes respectively had the same work-release and parole locales. Other parolees changed but switched back to the work-release occupational sphere later; 66 percent of these whites and all of these Negroes had similar locales. Another group changed permanently from the work-release occupational area; only 72 percent of these whites and 57 percent of these Negroes had similar locales.

Furthermore, there was less tendency to change jobs on parole. When jobs were changed, the rate of mobility was lower than for those parolees who settled in a different locale. For men with similar residences, there were .93 job changes per white parolee and .61 job changes per Negro parolee. For men with different residences, there were 1.45 changes per white parolee and 1.17 job changes per Negro parolee.

Earlier the advantages of retaining the work-release job into parole were cited. All the parolees continuing the work-release job throughout parole had similar locales. Of the parolees continuing the job only temporarily, 99 percent of the whites and 91 percent of the Negroes had similar locales. Of the parolees not continuing the work-release job,

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only 36 percent of the whites and 32 percent of the Negroes had similar locales.

When the two locales coincided, the parolee was more likely to receive an excellent assessment upon termination of his parole. For Negroes, even the parolees terminated with recored of transgressions on parole were more likely to have the same locales than were parolees with unsuccessful outcomes. However, for whites, the unsuccessful parolees were more likely to have common residences than the all kinds of successful termination short of excellent assessment by supervisors.

Similarly, Negroes with satisfactory work records or better on parole were more likely to have similar locales that those with unsatisfactory work evaluations. However, for whites only those with excellent work records were more likely to have similar locales than those with unsatisfactory work performance on parole.

Of the men who gained a skilled or semi-skilled job on parole, 96 percent of the whites and all of the Negroes had similar locales. For the unskilled, the percentages were only 79 percent of the whites and 81 percent of the Negroes. Generally, reasonable job skill was found to be correlated with favorable parole performance.

Behavior on parole was related to coincidence of locales in different ways for the two races. For Negroes, common residences was predictive of favorable parole performance. However, only the whites with the most favorable parole performance exceeded the deficient parolees in the proportion with similar locales for parole and work release. This result suggests that the selection of Negroes for work release and later for parole was more effective than for whites in selecting former offenders from the local community who had a capacity for sustained responsible behavior. Furthermore, linkage with the work-release job was more essential to those Negroes who subsequently demonstrated effective parole behavior.

SENTENCING COURT RECOMMENDATIONS

Some of the men assigned to work-release had been recommended by sentencing courts for such assignment. Other offenders did not receive such recommendations; however, the absence of recommendation does not necessarily imply deficiency in qualifications.

Did the work releasees receiving recommendations differ in parole performance from those not receiving recommendations? Of those receiving recommendations, 72 percent of the whites and 57 percent of the Negroes had favorable parole terminations. Of the parolees not receiving court recommendations for work release, 69 percent of the whites and 64 percent of the Negroes had favorable parole outcomes. In short, the court-recommended cases were superior for whites and inferior for Negroes when compared with cases not receiving court recommendations for work release. Furthermore, the non-court-recommended Negroes had the advantage over court-recommended Negroes because of their greater proportion of satisfactory parole performance as contrasted with marginal parole performance as evaluated by their supervisors. Whites had a slightly greater proportion of satisfactory outcomes for the court-recommended whites.

One of the reasons for the differences between the races can be traced to variation in the tendency to continue the work-release job into parole. Generally, Negroes were more likely to retain the work-release job throughout parole than were whites. Secondly, for both races, parolees not receiving recommendations for work release from sentencing judges were more likely to retain work-release jobs throughout parole than were parolees not receiving recommendations. Third, Negroes differed from whites in their lower success rate for court-recommended work releasees versus non-court-recommended work releasees for men retaining the work-release job throughout parole. The net consequence of the three trends was that Negroes had a greater parole success rate for non-court-recommended work-releasees because of the higher concentration work-releasees because of the higher concentration of Negroes among those keeping the work-release job througout parole.

Another source of the difference between the races is the relatively greater concentration of semi-skilled work-releasees among Negroes recommended by the court. When the skill of the work-release job is considered, both races show the court-recommended work-releasees outdo those not recommended by the court in degree of favorable parole outcomes at the skilled level. However, at the unskilled level the court-recommended cases have a slightly better record. The differences between the races can be attributed to the semi-skilled jobs where court-recommended whites have a slight advantage over their opposites. However, for Negroes, those parolees not receiving court recommendations for work release exceed in parole success by far the parolees recommended by the court.

A third latent factor was the influence of the proximity of work-release and parole locales. Among whites cases not recommended for work release were more likely to have contiguous locales than those not recommended. However, the white contiguous cases averaged higher incidence of parole failure on the average that those with differing work-release and parole locales. For Negroes, cases recommended for work-release were most likely to have contiguous locales and to have higher incidence of failure.

In summary, court-recommended work-releasees were less favorable in parole outcome for Negroes because of the combination of an especially high proneness to be relatively unsuccessful if work-release jobs are retained, a proneness of their semi-skilled work-releasees to fail on parole, and a proneness of inmates with contiguous locales to fail on parole.

Regardless of race, the parolees who had been recommended by the sentencing court for work release differed from those parolees not recommended in terms of the occupations they had before imprisonment. Those recommended were more likely to have had occupations in transportation, construction, trade-and-service, and white-collar categories. Parolees not recommended for work release by sentencing judges were more likely to have been employed in manufacturing or in general labor jobs.

Sentencing court recommendations contributed a disproportionate number of single parolees of both races, but the races differed otherwise. For whites there was little difference in proportion of presently married parolees, but the Negro paroled work-releasees were much less likely to be married presently. The separated, widowed or divorced comprised a larger share of court-recommended cases among Negroes and a larger share of non-court-recommended cases among whites. The latter difference between the races could be a product of two sets of causes. Imprisonment itself could have had greater impact on whites in terms of breakdown of family integrity. Alternatively, the sentencing courts were more willing to recommend a Negro offender with a history of marital instability. However, firm conclusions cannot be reached because the special population being examined here underwent the intervening process of selection for parole.

SUMMARY

By tracing subsequent performance on parole, we have endeavored to test the effectiveness of work release as a correctional strategy. A later chapter will center attention on this crucial question from another point of view.

To guide policy-making for selection of inmate for work release and work releasees for parole, we differentiated parole performance according to criteria most available currently to correctional decision-makers.

Assignment to work release early in a prisoner's sentence increases probability that parole performance will be effective. However, it appears that there is a point of diminishing returns and that this point varies with the length of the overall period of prison confinement.

When the man continues his work-release job into at least the initial period of parole, the probability of successful parole termination is enhanced. The most impressive contribution of work release to parole success comes when the parolee continues the work-release job only during the initial period of

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parole. The larger the period of prison confinement, the lower the probability that the paroled work-releasee will retain the work-release job into parole. However, a latent factor is the relationship between the locales of work release and parole. The higher the level of skill of the work-release job the greater the probability that the parolee will retain the job permanently. Failure to continue the job at least temporarily was positively associated with various indices of parole misconduct. The semi-skilled jobs attain the most favorable levels of parole performance.

Whites were more successful than whites in translating skill level of work-release jobs into skill level of parole jobs. Unskilled jobs were found relatively ineffective in serving as a bridge to effective reintegration into the community. The concurrence of locales between work-release units and parole experience was found to be supportive of effective behavior after release from prison.

When the white inmate had been recommended for work-release by the sentencing court, he was especially likely to be successful on parole. For Negroes, the result was exactly opposite because of certain differences among the races incidental to the recommendation of the court.

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Chapter 6: The Inmate as a Part-Time Participant In the Free Community

As a concept "community" has two major aspects. First is geographic in that it has a distinctly territorial character. Common soil is associated with a common way of living. The physical environment of the particular point on the earth's surface affects the ways of life which must be accommodated to the climate, topography, and available physical resources. The second aspect is social psychological in terms of the sentiments of common identity among the inhabitants. Through a sense of place and station, each resident feels a part of the collectivity and feels he has duties to perform within the social system. The community provides for the material wants of its inhabitants and a spiritual home, tying individuals together with bonds of dependence.

The term "community-based correction" recently has gained unprecedented attention as a term capturing many of the goals prison reformers would like to attain. The President's Crime Commission cited the necessity to reduce the isolation of the incarcerated offender from the community he will eventually rejoin. It has called for the creation of a wholly new kind of correctional institution with close ties to, and functions within, the local community. It has focused attention on "partial release" programs such as work release which are moving toward this new kind of institution.[1]

COMMUNITY AND CORRECTIONS

Discussions of community-based correction usually accept the term as worthy without explaining the essential need for bringing prisons more in conjunction with the patterns of life in the outside community. It is appropriate that we briefly explore the idea.

The community is a sociological force to the degree that collective sentiments and common interests among its inhabitants can be mobilized effectively for collective action against common problems. An aggregate of persons becomes a community when the residents of a geographical locale demonstrate social cohesion. Crime is an expression of (and a contributor to) the breakdown of social cohesion. Ultimately, correction entails strengthening of the social bonds of the community by converting the offender psychologically into a willing participant and by encouraging a community climate congenial to acceptance of the former offender into the community fellowship.

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[1] The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Corrections, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, pp. 9-11, 56-57.

Action programs in applied criminology must operate within the socio-cultural framework of the community if rehabilitation is to be genuine. The individual offender is a product of his experiences within the complex institutional life of the community. The etiology of his social deviance is embedded in the family, the job system, differential educational opportunities, conflict among subcultures, and other aspects of community institutional life. His behavioral and attitudinal deficiencies frequently represent failures of institutional life as well as his own deficiences. Diagnosis and treatment of the individual offender must recognize the impact of community life on criminal etiology if long-term effectiveness is to be gained. Furthermore, the treatment programs of the prison meet their ultimate test in the community after the inmate has left the prison. It is there that he confronts the basic attitudes which were latent in the definition of him as a "criminal." Rehabilitation entails "forgiveness" in that the community opinion must be shaped to support a willingness to overlook his past behavior and judge him as he is and thinks now.

Under the twin forces of urbanization and technological change, most communities are undergoing social transformations which severely test the past modes of maintaining the social equilibrium. At present the mass communication media record the crises of law enforcement, universities, forms of pollution, urban ghettoes, racial unrest, and so on. Resort to the criminal law is a frequent stragegy for "dealing" with these crises. Police, courts, and correctional agencies are summoned to apply coercion to cope with the breakdown of traditional modes of informal social control. The expedient use of coercion is doomed to failure when the disorder stems from inadequacies of social arrangements. Somehow correction must bring the forces of community life to bear on individual transgressors in ways not dependent on naked force alone.

As one aspect of the inadequate relationship between the prison and the community, a gap exists between the inmate's experiences in prison and the problems he faces when he rejoins the outside community. Probation, prison, and parole operate largely independently of one another rather than comprising a unified and consistent program dedicated to a common ultimate purpose. Including work release, community-based correction constitutes a strategy for the present half-hearted and unsystematic attempts to support the released prisoner in his efforts to become a responsible citizen.

Community-based correction can be envisaged in three ways. First, it may be a loose confederation of parole and prison programs whereby the separateness of the twin programs is eroded by improving prison programs as preparation for parole and by improving parole services as a terminal stage of prison treatment programs. Unfortunately, this loose confederation produces more lip service than accomplishment. The twin programs are encouraged to persist in the procedures and folk lore which have created ideological and functional conflicts between the two types of governmental agencies.

Under the second interpretation of community-based correction, current probation, prison and parole programs would undergo major reshuffling to bring about an entirely new institutional framework to make community life more of an active force in correctional programs. The greatest potential of this approach lies in the possibility for reorganizing the entire role system of correctional occupations. It may become possible to reduce significantly the ideological conflicts which now sap the energy of correctional workers to the detriment of ultimate purposes. Examples of these conflicts are the "custody-versus-treatment" and "parole-versus-prison" struggles among practitioners.

This interpretation is implied but not specifically delineated by the President's Crime Commission's vague reference to community-based correction. The Commission describes the community-based institution as the architectural and methodological antithesis of the traditional fortress-like prison which serves as a place of banishment. A small and informal structure, it would be located near the population center from which its inmates are drawn. Extensive screening and classification of inmates received from the courts would be the basis of alternative handling of sentenced offenders. Some would be placed immediately in community treatment programs (vocational education in local schools, mental health clinics, parole, work release). Another group would be provided short-term, intensive treatment before being assigned to a community program. Diagnosis would result in a third category being referred to higher custody facilities required for long-term confinement of the more difficult and/or dangerous inmates. The latter would be returned to the local facility for re-entry to the community. This new kind of institution would endeavor to reduce the unnecessary prolongation of confinement as a way of avoiding the adverse consequences of long-term imprisonment. The institution would provide diagnostic services to local courts to improve the effectiveness of sentencing and to maximize the intelligent use of probation as an alternative to incarceration.

Under the third interpretation of community-based correction, the term "correction" would be extended beyond present probation, parole and prison to include much of what is now considered crime prevention. Rather than waiting until the individual is convicted of a crime before corrective measures are taken, criminological agencies would move into the "seed-beds" of crime to short-cut tendencies toward criminal behavior.

Strategies would include efforts toward spiritual regeneration of problem neighborhoods, fostering of local participation in neighborhood life to encourage development of informal control structures, detached workers, and integration of crime prevention and correction within activities of community services provided clients other than law violators. Instead of dealing with crime as a discrete problem community-based correction would be merged with many efforts to make the community a dynamic and significant force in meeting the needs of all segments of the population.

Because the third interpretation appears to be beyond the grasp of the foreseeable future, we accept the second interpretation as constituting a frame of reference for this study of work release.

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OBJECTIVES OF THIS CHAPTER

This chapter employs the data on all inmates placed on work release for the period 1957 through 1963. The men granted parole were the subject of chapter 5. Now the work releasees not paroled are added to the parolee group to comprise a total population of inmates placed on work release in North Carolina.

First, the general characteristics of this study population will be described to orient the reader for subsequent analysis. Second, the results of the work release program will be assessed in relation to the major characteristics of the inmates. The analysis will focus attention on the usefulness of prisoner characteristics to predict probable performance on work release. Correctional administrators use such characteristics in formulating policies for selection of prisoners for work-release. The characteristics include felon versus misdemeanant status, length of sentence, age at admission, marital status, educational attainment, crime, recidivism, occupation before imprisonment, and level of skill and industrial category of work-release job.

Third, special attention will be given to the pertinence of time on work-release outcome. As a sociological phenomenon, time will be studied in two senses: length of service on work-release and degree of delay before the inmate is placed on

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work release. Does increasing length of time on work release enhance the probability of favorable performance? Does the inmate placed on the program shortly after his admission to prison do better than the fellow who serves a considerable portion of his sentence before such assignment?

Fourth, community-based correction focuses attention on the relationships between rehabilitation programs in the institution and the characteristics of the social system outside the prison walls. The population of work-releasees will be grouped into major socio-economic regions within North Carolina to obtain preliminary insights into the relationship between the administration of "work release" and the socio-economic patterns of the State. Do these regions vary in patterns of work-release outcome? Are the metropolitan counties different from the other counties?

Fifth, two different modes are employed in selecting work releasees in North Carolina. The sentencing court may recommend an inmate for work release, and the correctional authorities agree with the recommendation. In the other mode, the correctional authorities put a man on the program although the sentencing court did not comment on his qualification for the program. The two modes will be compared in terms of work-release outcome. By including a number of other variables, the implication of the different modes of selection will be traced.

WORK RELEASE COMES TO NORTH CAROLINA

As customary among prison systems introducing work release, North Carolina was cautious in introducing the program in 1957. The first two years produced only 46 admissions to the program. With 1960, the rate of expansion accelerated. Half of the inmates in our study population were placed on the program in 1963 alone. Later in this chapter we shall examine the effects of this expansion on the success rate and on the qualities of the inmates accepted.

Although the total prisoners in North Carolina are approximately equally divided between whites and Negroes, the whites were dominant among those prisoners accepted for work release. However, a major trend over the years was the increased representation of Negroes among the work-releasees. The proportion of Negroes increased consistently with the exception of the relatively high percentage for 1960. This break in consistency is attributed to the small population of work-releasees in the early years. Several possible explanations come to mind for the underrepresentation of Negroes. On the average, prisoners are inferior to the population of the State in employment skills and aptitudes. Negro prisoners are even more deficient than white prisoners.

TABLE 1: INMATES PLACED ON WORK RELEASE BY YEAR AND RACE

Year	Total Inmates		Percentage Distribution By Race		
	No.	Pct.	White	Negro	Total
1957-1959	46	2.0	84.8	15.2	100.0
1960	57	2.5	71.9	28.1	100.0
1961	216	9.6	85.6	14.4	100.0
1962	802	35.7	73.2	26.8	100.0
1963	1128	50.2	63.1	36.9	100.0
TOTALS	2249	100.0	69.5	30.5	100.0

For changes in the distribution of races over the year, the Chi-square value is significant at less than the 1 per cent level.

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Furthermore, some white prisoners would be more likely to have access to those jobs in free society providing income and steady employment sufficient for effective use of work release. In the early stages of program implementation, prison executives favor the most employable candidates and those with personal and offense characteristics less likely to arouse public antagonism. Racial mores influence both employability and public acceptance. However, with increased experience and desire to expand the program, prison officials moved toward inclusion of Negro prisoners in greater quantity.

OUTCOME IN GENERAL

Approximately 65 per cent of the work-releasees completed the program successfully to the time of their discharge or parole from prison. More exactly, this was the performance of 64.8 per cent of the whites and 65.7 per cent of the Negroes.

However, this measure underestimates the success rate because a sizeable minority of the prisoners were taken from the program for reasons which are incidental to the efficacy of the work-release approach. This minority we describe as "aborted" cases which include inmates who lost work-release jobs, were subject to medical problems, were removed at their own request or because of a retainer, or lost work-release housing. Job terminations included loss of the job after a period of work-release employment, because of unsatisfactory work performance by the inmate, because the job vanished before the inmate reported for work, or because the correctional officials deemed the job position to be unsatisfactory. Medical reasons included illness, mental disturbance, injury, physical incapacity, or death of the inmate.

Therefore, we prefer to measure the effectiveness of work release here by eliminating the aborted cases. On this basis the successes comprise 71.3 per cent of the white work releasees and 72.8 per cent of the Negroes.

The races do not differ in general performance but vary in the specific ways in which success or failure is achieved. Whites were more likely to be paroled than Negroes. Among causes of failure, Negroes were slightly more prone to rule violations and whites to escapes and unauthorized absences.

The release of prisoners into the community conflicts with the traditional concept of the prison as a means of protecting the free community from the so-called "dangerous" criminal. This stereotyped view is refuted by the high success rate recorded in this early period of North Carolina's experiment.

TABLE 2: FINAL OUTCOME ON WORK RELEASE BY RACE

Outcome on Work Release	White No.	 Pct.	Negro No.	 Pct.
SUCCESS	1013	71.3	450	72.8
Discharged	(603)	(42.4)	(299)	(48.4)
Paroled	(410)	(28.9)	(151)	(24.4)
FAILURE	408	28.7	168	27.2
Rule Violations	(166)	(11.7)	(83)	(13.4)
Escapes	(130)	(9.1)	(42)	(6.8)
Unauthorized Absences	(112)	(7.9)	(43)	(7.0)
TOTALS	1421	100.0	618	100.0
ABORTED	143	-----	67	-----
Percent: aborted divided by total inmates	---	9.1	---	9.8

Chi-square value for differences between races in successes and failures is not statistically significant.

Beyond this, escapes constituted only 32 per cent of the white failures and 25 per cent of the Negro failures. Rule violations were the most important source of failure. Unauthorized absences were defined by prison officials as rule violations. Here the prisoner usually left the work place to visit his family or for other purposes although work-release rules specifically prohibited this practice.

Closer examination of the rule violations reveals that alcohol drinking was the primary factor with a few instances of drug use. Considering the historyof chronic drinking found among misdemeanants, the pattern is expected. The half-free status of the work releasees generated a new brand of rule violations: receiving visitors at the work-place and difficulties with employer or fellow employees. However, there were a small number of violations of traditional prison rules: possessing contraband, insubordination and so on. The law violations were largely traffic and drinking violations.

Termination of jobs was the major reason for abortive ending of work-release assignments. Usually, the job was terminated because of seasonal fluctuations in production or ending of a contract. In this sense, prison administration is complicated by a high job turnover because many of the work-releasees are employed in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs

TABLE 3: DETAILS ON WORK RELEASE CASES RESULTING IN REMOVAL FOR RULE VIOLATIONS OR FOR ABORTIVE REASONS BY RACE

Outcome on	White		Negro	
Work Release	No.	Pct	No.	Pct.
RULE VIOLATIONS				
Alcohol or drugs	123	74.1	63	75.9
Traditional rules	14	8.4	7	8.4
Half-free status	16	9.7	9	10.9
Law violations	13	7.8	4	4.8
Totals	166	100.0	83	100.0
ABORTED CASES				
Job terminated	92	64.3	41	61.2
After W.R. employment	(52)	(36.3)	(20)	(29.9)
Unsatisfactory work	(14)	(9.8)	(7)	(10.4)
Before W.R. employment	(26)	(18.2)	(14)	(20.9)
Inmate's request	24	16.8	11	16.4
Factors external to W.R.	5	3.5	3	4.5
Medical reasons	22	15.4	12	17.9
Totals	143	100.0	67	100.0

Chi-square values for differences between races in each of the two distributions are not statistically significant.

especially subject to lay-offs. The loss of jobs before the inmate could begin work was another source of casualty stemming from the marginal quality of many of the work-release jobs. Unsatisfactory work performance by the work-releasee was a relatively minor factor. Terminations at the inmate's request calls attention to the problem of motivating prisoners to support their dependents and themselves. However, the low pay-scales and irregularity of some jobs would contribute to the reluctance of some inmates to continue the jobs. Factors external to work release included removal because one of the work-release housing units was closed temporarily for repairs and removal because a detainer was filed against the inmate. The work-releasee is subject to the possibilities of a variety of medical problems. Although the future may bring knotty legal problems because of the illness or injury of employees who also are prisoners, the number of such cases was relatively small for the period under study.

As the numbers of work releasees increased over the years, the success rate tended to deteriorate. The few number of inmates assigned in the first years attested to special care in selection resulting in an 82.1 per cent success for whites in 1957-1959 inclusive. However, the rate dropped for whites to 70.7 per cent in 1960.

68.1 per cent in 1961, and 62.0 per cent in 1962. In 1963 the rate slightly increased to 64.9 per cent. Abortive terminations increased in proportion over the years 1960 through 1963 -- 4.9 to 10.5 per cent. Meanwhile, the failures increased consistently from 24.4 per cent in 1960 to 28.5 per cent in 1962. Then in 1963 failures dropped to 24.6 per cent. Therefore, the upsurge of the 1963 success rate can be attributed to the decline of the failure rate.

Analysis of the Negroes is less reliable because of the small number of cases before 1962. With the assignment of an appreciable number of Negroes in 1962, the success rate sagged from 87.1 per cent in 1961 to 58.6 per cent in 1962. The source of the sharp decline was the sharp rise in rule violations, absences and escapes. All kinds of failure were of less proportional importance in 1963, and the success rate rose to 67.3 per cent in spite of an increase in abortive terminations.

Felon versus misdemeanant. One of the unique features of the North Carolina program is the inclusion of felons. For whites, felons were particularly important in the early years of the program. Of the whites 47.4 per cent were felons in 1957-1959 and 53.5 per cent in 1960. However, as the program was expanded, misdemeanants increased their dominance;

the proportion of felons declined to 41.1 per cent in 1961, 33.2 per cent in 1962, and 33.9 per cent in 1963. Although the small number of Negroes in the early years prevented reliable comparisons, the trend was similar. Only 28.6 per cent of the Negroes assigned in 1957-1959 were felons, but the percentage climbed to 68.8 per cent in 1960. Then the statistic sagged sharply to 35.5 per cent in 1961 and 30.8 in 1962. With the sharp increase in numbers in 1963, the share of felons rose to 40.8 per cent among Negroes.

Usually work release has been limited to short-term jail prisoners under the untested premise that felons are more incorrigible and less trustworthy. Outcome on work release is one of the ways of testing this premise. In these terms, our data indicates there is no reliable difference between felons and misdemeanants assigned to the North Carolina work-release program. Of the felons, 63.2 per cent were successful compared to 66.1 per cent of the misdemeanants.

For whites the difference was particularly slight; 64.0 per cent of the felons and 65.2 per cent of the misdemeanants were successful. The felons were more likely to attempt escape or to have unauthorized absences, but the misdemeanants lost this advantage because of more abortive terminations

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especially in loss of jobs. Negro misdemeanants had a clear advantage over Negro felons, 68.4 per cent and 61.5 per cent successes respectively. Differing from whites, the Negro felons exceeded Negro misdemeanants in abortive terminations to erode the felon success rate. Difference in escapes and unauthorized absences was small.

Length of sentence. One of the inherent differences between felons and misdemeanants is length of sentence. One of the major assumptions is that the briefer period of incarceration is correlated with greater trustworthiness. Therefore, it is useful to consider the affect of length of sentence on work-release outcome.

For both races the success rate declines with increasing length of sentence with remarkable consistency. Furthermore, the failure rate rises with equivalent consistency for whites but with less regularity for Negroes. Abortive terminations become increasingly important for Negroes as the sentence is extended. Whites do not reveal a regular pattern for abortive terminations.

When the causes of failure are examined more closely, rule violations are particularly important for inmates serving sentences of less than 18 months. Probably the larger period in prison is associated with greater tendency toward external appearance of compliance and, perhaps, greater skill in evasion of rules. It would be hazardous to assume larger sentences promote attitudes and habits consistent with rehabilitation of personality. For longer sentences the escapes assume greater proportional importance. Unauthorized absences declined for Negroes and increased slightly for whites. Among the kinds of rule violation for whites use of alcohol or drugs assumes increasing proportional importance as the length of sentence is extended. Meanwhile, infractions associated with the half-free status decline. Other kinds of violations are irregular in pattern. For Negroes there were no perceptible patterns.

Among white abortive terminations, loss of jobs for unsatisfactory work or before the inmate began work was slightly more characteristic of prisoners serving longer sentences. Termination of the job after a period of work-release employment occurred more frequently among the short-term prisoners. The other kinds of abortions were not patterned. Among Negroes termination of jobs after a period of work-release employment was more characteristic of short-termers. Negro long-termers were more likely to suffer elimination of jobs before they could report for work.

Age at admission. As a sole predictive device, age at admission is not a reliable predictor of work-release outcome. For each of the races, the differences in performance among the age categories were not statistically significant. The average age of inmates assigned did not vary to a real degree over the years. Nevertheless, age is useful in two respects.

First, there are discernible patterns suggesting that age operates within a set of socio-economic patterns to affect the probable performance. For whites failures tend to increase as age advances to 35 years, then the failures decline. Meanwhile, Negro failure rates are fairly constant to 35 years and then decline irregularly.

Second, the types of failure and abortive terminations suggest the presence of other factors hidden in the relationship between age and work-release outcome. These factors tend to muffle the total effect because each of the specific kinds of non-success is related differently to age. Rule violations tend to increase with advancing age, whereas escapes operate in reverse. The races differ in terms of tendencies toward unauthorized absences; the whites peak in age groups 20-to-35 years, whereas age makes relatively little difference for Negroes. Abortive terminations also show this muffling effect. Both races show the youngest inmates most likely to request that they be removed from the program, whereas illness and death are more characteristic of the older inmates. Job terminations are rather uniform among the age groups of Negroes, but are more characteristic of the older ages among whites.

Marital status. The married person has a reputation for greater responsibility and personal stability. Becoming married is supposed to have a settling effect on the individual. The more stable personalities are supposed to be more likely to seek the responsibilities of marriage as a key to personal happiness. Do these assumptions hold true for work-release outcome?

Of the inmates selected for work release, 24 per cent were presently married, 54 per cent single; 13 per cent separated, and 7 per cent divorced or widowed. Whites were concentrated in the married and divorced or widowed groups to a slightly greater degree than Negroes.

Marital status had greater affect on probability of success for whites than Negroes. For whites alone, the differences were sufficient to be beyond the bounds of statistical chance. For Negroes, the differences were insignificant. Furthermore, the differences were in conflict with the view that married men are superior candidates for work release.

Single men were more successful than presently married men. For whites 67.0 per cent of the single men and 64.9 per cent of the married men were successful. For Negroes both groups had 66 per cent success. Among whites, separated men had the best level of performance (68.8 per cent) whereas divorced or widowed work-releasees (51.2 per cent) were definitely the least effective. Broken marriages as a whole scored 62 per cent success. There were insufficient divorced or widowed Negroes for detailed interpretation. For broken marriages as a whole, Negroes were 62.5 per cent successful.

Married men of both races had the lowest aborted rates although white husbands were especially prone to ask to be removed from the program. White married men had a failure rate second only to divorced and widowed whites largely because of more rule violations and unauthorized absences. For white married, divorced, and separated men, rule violations involving alcohol were particularly high. Presently married men had the lowest incidence of drinking violations and were especially noteworthy in their proneness to violations related to their half-free status. Coupled with their tendencies toward excessive unauthorized absences, Negro husbands appear to have particular difficulties associated with abiding by work-release regulations when family relationships are involved.

As the years went by, the proportion of married men tended to assume a smaller proportion of persons assigned to the program. Meanwhile, the single men and men with broken marriages assumed a larger share. For whites the men with broken marriage had the most dramatic increase. Although Negroes had similar trends, the increase of broken marriages was clearly inferior to the gain for single Negroes.

Family crimes were more characteristic of separated men of both races than of whites with a wife waiting the inmate's release. This pattern suggests that the crime being served was frequently involved in the separation. Evidence of personal disorganization also was indicated by the proneness of separated men to liquor offenses. Single men were prone to burglary, larceny and similar property offenses which had low rates of work-release success, but they tended to avoid traffic offenses which also had a low rate. These offenses held down the higher overall advantage the single men gained by a greater tendency than presently married men toward liquor, murder, and robbery which had higher success rates. Married men were especially prone to assault and traffic offenses in addition to family offenses.

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Married men had the least probability of previous experience with imprisonment. They had the lowest average number of previous prison sentences (1.36 for whites and 1.86 for Negroes). Separated whites averaged 1.93 and separated Negroes 2.38 previous incarcerations. Single men averaged 1.71 for whites and 2.15 for Negroes. Divorced and widowed whites had 3.41 previous terms for the highest average. The few number of Negro divorced or widowed Negroes undermines the usefulness of their low 1.29 average.

Level of education. As for age, education as a gross factor had little influence on work-release outcome, but analysis of the causes of non-success indicates a more complicated set of causal factors. Level of schooling affects work-release outcome along whites sufficiently to be significant statistically at the five per cent level. The success rate tends to increase with level of schooling, but the relationship is not impressive. For Negroes the relationship is even less convincing. However, for both races the average level of schooling deteriorated as the year of assignment progressed.

The most interesting aspect of education emerges with analysis of the specific kinds of failure or abortive terminations because of the afore-mentioned muffling effect.

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For whites rule violations are most characteristic of inmates with 3 to 7 years of education whereas escapes and authorized absences occur more frequently when there are more than five years of schooling. Meanwhile, abortive terminations decline with greater education. However, for Negroes rule violations and authorized absences increase with greater schooling while escapes decline, Meanwhile, Negro job terminations decline irregularly with advancing education whereas the other kinds of abortive terminations fail to show any consistent patterning.

Crime. The offense for which an inmate was imprisoned is popularly assumed to be an index of the potential behavior of the individuals. For example, murderers are supposed to be dangerous and sex offenders a perennial threat to women. Correctional experience demonstrates the unreliability of such arbitrary assessments. Actually, the legal category is more descriptive of the evaluation of the offender and the presumed significance of his behavior within a specific time-bound event which has come to official attention. The processing of a case through the administrative system of criminal justice undermines the usefulness of the final charge as an accurate description of the specific behavior in the crime situation. Furthermore, the crime event is

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only suggestive of the central thrust of the offender's total personality and his long-term values and attitudes. The event includes materials useful in diagnosing him and his future behavior, but stereotyping him on the basis of his offense category is a poor substitute for individualized study.

The greatest usefulness of the legal category is predicting the probable evaluation by the community of the decision to place him on work release. The category should arouse official concern over especially adverse consequences for the work-release program in the long term if future transgressions by the work releasee focus public attention on the offense. However, the offense should stimulate individualized examination of the given candidate to determine whether he possesses certain potentialities to be observed among some of the offenders convicted of a certain crime. For example, murder and armed robbery suggest aggressive actions against persons. However, the legal category itself does not demonstrate the offender is more dangerous than the individual convicted of liquor or traffic offenses.

In selecting work-releasees, North Carolina correctional officials followed the policies typical of such agencies. Crimes against property and moral offenses other than sex offenses were given priority. Larceny, theft, forgery, and similar property offenses comprised 22 per cent of all inmates placed on work release. Another 14 per cent were convicted of burglary or breaking-and-entering. Among the moral crimes were offenses against the family (14 per cent), and sex offenses (0.9 per cent). Regarded as indicative of non-criminal attitudes, traffic offenses comprised 17 per cent. Assaults (16 per cent) were given preference over the other violent crimes: murder and manslaughter (3.9 per cent) and robbery (1.7 per cent).

As the years went by, the administrators tended to favor property crimes and moral crimes to a slightly greater degree. Greater reliance was placed on crimes against persons in selection of Negroes than of whites in each year. Among the moral crimes, offenses against the family assumed greater importance as the years progressed for both races.

The priorities in selecting inmates did not correspond with the order of successes of work release. Larceny and similar offenses had the greatest proportional share of whites placed on work release but had one of the lowest success rates among the types of crime. Similar inverse relationships were recorded for burglary, breaking-and-entering, and traffic

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offenses. On the other hand, sex offenses, murder, and manslaughter were selected infrequently among whites but had high success rates. Robbery had moderate success but was infrequently represented.

Negroes differed from whites in a greater representation of assaults and less selection of larceny, other similar crimes, amd traffic offenses for inmates placed on the program. However, Negroes also tended to have the higher success rates among those legal categories least frequently selected for the program: robbery, murder, manslaughter, and traffic offenses.

The remarkable success rate among most of the crimes of violence indicates a larger number of these inmates could be placed on the program. However, special care in selecting such inmates may explain these high rates and counterindicates expansion without individualized study.

Advocates of work release tend to regard family, alcohol, and traffic offenders as especially appropriate candidates for work release because they are deemed to be less likely committed to criminal values. However, the unusual high proportion of abortive termination among these offenders, especially among whites, suggests a deficiency in persistant self-responsibility which reduces effective outcome.

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Property offenders among Negroes have a high degree of abortive outcome, and both races show excessive failures.

Number of previous sentences. Recidivism is associated with persistence in crime. One interpretation is that repeated incarceration is evidence of incorrigible attitudes of the offender. However, repeated incarceration itself can favor incorrigibility when imprisonment cuts the nerve of effort, isolates the offender from the life of the community to which he is expected to adjust himself, and hardens the attitudes of the community against accepting him as a full participant in its affairs.

In its various functions, work release is intended to halt the persistant criminality which recidivism is supposed to reflect. In one sense work release is supposed to contribute to the eventual reduction of recidivism by forestalling the further antisocial behavior of first offenders. But can the strategy also reduce further offenses of inmates who already are recidivists? Our data provide a partial answer by differentiating the work-release outcome by the degree of recidivism.

Major conclusions are that first offenders perform more effectively on work release than recidivists and that the degree of successful outcome declines consistently with degree of recidivism. Among work releasees as a whole, the rate of success declined consistently from 77.9 per cent for first offenders to 48.7 per cent for inmates with a record of five or more previous sentences. Each of the races exhibited the same trend. The rate for whites declined from 79.1 to 47.9 per cent and for Negroes from 75.0 to 50.5 per cent. The differences were statistically significant.

The third conclusion is that, regardless of the degree of recidivism, inmates were clearly successful more frequently than they were failures. The success rates were reduced by inclusion of aborted cases. The proportional importance of aborted cases increased with greater recidivism at a greater rate than the failures. The increased failure rate was due largely to an increased tendency toward rule violations. However, escapes, unauthorized absences, and job terminations also increased with greater recidivism.

The fourth conclusion is that the greater abortion rate among high-order recidivists was largely a joint product of job terminations and medical problems beyond the control of the inmates. This product was the consequence of higher average age associated with greater recidivism and less employability.

The fifth conclusion is that increased reliance on recidivists was a major factor in the decline in the success rate over the years. For whites, first offenders comprised 51.3 per cent of the prisoners assigned to work release in 1957-1959, 43.9 per cent in 1960, 40.5 per cent in 1961, 31.6 per cent in 1962, and 40.7 per cent in 1963. The reader should note the increase in assignment of first offenders in 1963 when compared to 1962. The success rate reversed the general decline when 1963 is compared with 1962. This upturn apparently is associated with a greater emphasis on first offenders for 1963. Negroes recorded the same general patterns although they produced a smaller proportion of first offenders in the latter years.

Occupation before imprisonment. By determining the industry within which the inmate was employed before being sentenced, we have means of predicting probably outcome on work release for inmates with primary occupational experience in a particular category of industry.

The selection of inmates for work-release drew heavily on construction and manufacturing for whites and construction and general labor for Negroes. The races differed markedly in representation among the industries. Trade-service

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occupations were reasonably well represented by both races but especially among Negroes. White-collar and transportation jobs were of modest importance with whites dominating. Agricultural and logging jobs were more characteristic of Negroes.

Work release has been advocated as especially appropriate for short-term misdemeanants as a means of continuing civilian employment. Misdemeanants of both races were especially represented among our work releasees who had been employed in construction and manufacturing.

Whites with white-collar and manufacturing experience scored the highest successes. The heavy representation among construction occupations and moderate representation of trade-service tended to hold down the overall success rate while the underrepresentation of white-collar workers prevented full exploitation of their high success rate. The abortive terminations among former logging-forestry, agricultural, and general labor workers is expected because of the general vulnerability of these occupational categories to employment interruption.

Negroes with manufacturing and logging-forestry experience were particularly successful on work release but there were too few logging-forestry workers to affect the overall rate. Former general laborers performed satisfactorily, but other

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large categories of workers, construction and trade-services, dragged the overall rate down. A group of moderate quantitative importance, agriculture had only moderate success. Transportation and white-collar groups had low rates, but the small number of cases reduced the effect.

Generally, as a predictor of work-release outcome, occupation before prison is more reliable for whites than Negroes. Manufacturing and white-collar occupations were especially favorable prospects among whites, whereas construction and trade-service occupations tended toward failure. Other labor and agricultural were especially prone to abortive terminations. Although differences were of minimal value among Negroes, other labor had an unusual concentration among successes, trade-service among failures, and agriculture among abortive terminations.

Skill of work-release job. The level of skill of the job held for the longest period of time on work release would be a measure of two factors. First, it would indicate the employability of the particular inmate in terms of special work aptitudes and experience he offers in entering the competitive job market of the community. The higher his job skill the more advantageous is his position in competing for a job while in the peculiar status of a former prisoner seeking employment in the free community. Although humanitarianism of some employers would take the edge off some of the disadvantages of this peculiar status, primary emphasis must be placed on the economic value to the potential employer when he considers the possibilities of employing a work-release. Then, prospects would be improved when the work-releasee presents work qualifications which are in relatively short supply in the job market of the particular free community. Second, as a measure of special work aptitudes and experience, level of skill would suggest the inmate's capacity for self-discipline required for the greater degree of permissiveness provided by the release into the free community during working hours.

In either sense, level of skill must be regarded as only a rough measure. The comparisons are made within a special population in which all persons have been officially diagnosed as deficient in self-discipline and social responsibilities. Compared with the total population of North Carolina, the prisoners are strongly skewed toward irregular and marginal work careers. Our differentiation of skills must define the cut-off point for the high level of a skill of work releasees well below the point appropriate for a study of skilled workers in the free community as a whole.

Furthermore, it is likely that our "skilled" work releasees are not the psychological equivalent of highly skilled workers in the free community. This conclusion is significant in itself because it indicates a fundamental problem in the vocational upgrading of a prison population. A number of selective factors cause the unskilled and poorly motivated individuals to be channeled especially toward the prison. Therefore, our use of skill of work-release job is intended to measure differences among inmates selected for work release rather than to imply a reliable comparison with workers in the free community.

For both races but especially for Negroes, the work-release jobs were skewed toward the unskilled. For whites 47.5 per cent of the reported work-release jobs were unskilled, 29.1 per cent semi-skilled, and 23.4 per cent skilled. For Negroes, the distribution was 79.3 per cent unskilled, 12.5 per cent semi-skilled, and 8.2 per cent skilled. For both races the persons who held unskilled jobs on work release were drawn disproportionately from inmates who had had pre-prison employment in logging, farming, general labor, and transportation.

As the years progressed, both races included a progressively smaller proportion of inmates with skilled jobs on work release. For whites the percentage declined from 47.4 per cent in 1957-1959 to 15.9 per cent in 1963. Concurrently the percentage for Negroes dropped from 31.2 in 1960 to 4.7 in 1963. Meanwhile, the inmates were increasingly concentrated in unskilled jobs. For whites 28.9 per cent were unskilled in 1957-1959 and 50.3 per cent in 1963. For Negroes, 42.8 per cent were unskilled in 1957-1959, 58.8 per cent in 1960, and 81.4 per cent in 1963.

Inmates holding semi-skilled jobs on work-release were most likely to have successful outcomes on work-release for both races. Conversely, they were least likely among all three levels of skill to record either failure or abortive terminations.

Why did the skilled lag in work-release performance? They exceeded the semi-skilled but not the unskilled in abortive losses for medical reasons to suggest higher average ages brought into play the affects of physiological aging because work skill usually requires years of work experience. For whites, job terminations also were a factor indicating that the skilled inmates were less effective in meeting the higher criteria of employer expectations associated with greater work skill. Removals for unsatisfactory work performance were especially marked for unskilled Negroes, but skilled whites had a perceptible tendency in that direction whereas there were no such cases among skilled Negroes. Perhaps the skilled inmates diverged more from skilled onon-prisoners than semi-skilled prisoners diverged from semi-skilled non-prisoners in terms of meeting employer expectations. Because skilled whites also had a higher proportion of removals at inmate request, it is possible that the skilled inmates approached work release with unreasonable expectations of how they would be regarded by their work associates in the free community. Although skill groups among whites did not differ markedly in kinds of rule violations, skilled whites were somewhat prone to infractions involving their half-free status. The psychological dimensions reveal their inability to sustain effective interpersonal relationships in situations requiring modification of habit patterns. Among the various kinds of failure, the skilled exceeded the unskilled and semi-skilled in every category among whites and all categories except rule violations among Negroes. Again we find the highest level of skill is not associated with superior self-discipline in the relatively permissive situation of work-release.

The data support the interpretation that the skilled work-releasees are more deficient in self-responsibility than the term "skilled employee" usually suggests. Whites with a broken marriage exceeded married whites in terms of proportion holding skilled jobs on work release. For both races, the skilled had a higher average number of previous prison sentences than the semi-skilled. White skilled were only slightly superior to white semi-skilled in average years of schooling. Negro skilled had less schooling on the average than either Negro semi-skilled or unskilled.

The lagging of the skilled workers in work-release performance may indicate that their selection for this privilege should be avoided. Such a policy would run counter to the usefulness of work release as a means of upgrading the vocational status of prisoners to reduce recidivism by promoting the gaining of economic and social satisfactions through effective work status.

We prefer to assume that another lesson is pertinent. Raising of the offender's long-term vocational status requires a quality of vocational and attitude training in prison beyond exploitation of those qualities the prisoner brings with him to prison. For jobs of reasonable skill, the higher level of employer expectations demands that the existing psychological

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deficiencies of the inmate must be corrected in a way more systematic than mere use of those inmates who superficially appear to be qualified in some respects.

The unskilled of both races were similar to the skilled in level of their success rate, but they had greater proclivity for every class of abortive terminations of both races except medical for Negroes. Job terminations differed in particularly marked fashion, indicating the effect of the inferior competitive position of unskilled work-releasees in entering the job market of the community. This effect was particularly crucial to Negroes because the unskilled jobs were dominant for this race. The unskilled Negroes were particularly prone to losing work-release jobs because the employer complained of unsatisfactory work performance. All of the job terminations for skilled Negroes were due to elimination of the job before employment. Semi-skilled inmates of both races were especially prone to elimination of the work-release job after a period of employment. However, generally the unskilled suffered particularly from the uncertainties of the job market. A crucial problem in expanding work-release programs is avoidance of the job turnover and other frustrations associated with the aborted terminations resulting from the tenuous position of the unskilled in the job market. Selection of inmates must include special care in assessing the quality of the unskilled jobs.

The comparative success of the semi-skilled work-releasees suggests that emphasis on selection of this category of inmate would be wise when the objective is to expand work release quantitatively without genuine improvement in the quality of vocational training in the prison.

Industry of work-release employment. The type of industry affects the possibilities of demand for work releasees as employees, the regularity of the employment, and the qualities of the work locale. Industries differ in the degree of labor shortages they encounter, especially if they are especially subject to seasonal fluctuations in level of operation. The previous work of the inmate tends to increase his usefulness in a particular industry and enhances the possibility that he will be welcomed as a means of meeting a labor shortage. Typical activities in construction, logging and farming frequently place the inmate away from immediate supervision of his employer so that opportunities for prohibited behavior are enhanced.

To create industrial groupings of sufficient size for statistical analysis, it was necessary to reduce the specificity of the categories. However, we endeavored to create general groups which were consistent with the characteristics of the labor force produced by work release.

Construction includes employment in the building occupations, road-building, and various auxiliary enterprises specializing in providing supplies for such activities. Manufacturing jobs were largely in textile mills, furniture, factories, and tobacco product plants. Transportation employed work-releasees in gasoline stations, auto repair establishments, car washes, retail tire stores and trucking companies. In addition to usual farming jobs, agriculture includes food processing (usually poultry), feed mills, vegetable or fruit huckster, nurseries, and other services auxiliary to agriculture. White-collar jobs cover sales work, office occupations, and semi-professionals. Trade-and-service occupations comprise governmental and institutional services, personal and retail services, and restaurant work.

The races were markedly dissimilar in distribution of work releasees among the industrial categories. Construction was the dominant employer (41.9 percent of whites and 30.7 percent of Negroes). Manufacturing jobs were more important to whites (24.1 percent) than Negroes (7.6 percent). Trade-and-service was of second importance for Negroes (24.9 percent) but of minor importance (6.8 percent) for whites. Farming was in third position for Negroes (13.6 percent) but in a minor position for whites (4.5 percent). Transportation was in third position for whites (13.1 percent) and in fourth position for Negroes (9.6 percent). White-collar jobs were of

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minor importance for both races (whites 5.8 percent and Negroes 7.6 percent). Logging and forestry work was in lowest position (3.4 percent of whites and 6.0 for Negroes).

Construction provided the largest share of skilled jobs with manufacturing and transportation comprising the bulk of the remainder. Compared with Negroes, skilled jobs were much more significant among those whites in white-collar or trade-and-service occupations. Manufacturing and white-collar jobs were particularly weighted toward the semi-skilled level for both races. Logging and farming were most likely to be weighted toward unskilled work.

Felons and misdemeanants did not differ markedly in distribution among the industrial groups. White felons had greater representation among white-collar, trade-and-service, and transportation jobs. White misdemeanants tended more toward construction, manufacturing, and logging. Negro felons were assigned disproportionately to farming and logging and had a modest advantage in white-collar jobs. Negro misdemeanants exceeded Negro felons in the share of their total number in construction, trade-and-service, and transportation.

Differences are revealed through comparison of the percentage of inmates who remained on work release until parole or discharge from parole reveal occupational groups differ. These differences reflect differences among industrial groups in regularity of jobs and their potentiality for providing economic and personal satisfactions. Outcome on work release was most favorable for manufacturing (76.0 per cent success for whites and 74.0 per cent success for Negroes) and trade-and-service (71.6 per cent for whites and 79.1 per cent for Negroes). However, the high success rates were more the consequence of low abortive terminations than of low failure rates. The modest degree of job terminations indicates these occupations were particularly effective in maintaining steady employment. Although Negro trade-and-service was quite low, in various kinds of failure, these occupations otherwise had only an intermediate advantage in failure rates.

For whites, both farming and logging-forestry enjoyed a 64 per cent success rate, but for farming the lowest failure rate of all white occupational groups was negated by the highest abortive termination rate because of excessive loss of jobs. Logging-forestry had the second highest abortive termination rate for whites and the highest among Negroes. Farming had the lowest success rate (56.2 per cent) among Negroes because of the highest failure rate and an abortive termination rate second only to logging. However, logging-forestry benefited among Negroes by the lowest failure rate for the race to record a 61.5 success rate.

Transportation and white-collar jobs respectively scored a 63 percent success rates for whites by virtue of an intermediate level of abortive terminations. Among Negroes, transportation avoided abortive terminations completely but, along with the white-collar category, had the highest failure rate. As a net consequence, Negro transportation had 66.7 percent success and Negro white-collar jobs had only 58.0 percent success. High failures and intermediate abortive terminations gave construction a 58.9 percent success rate for whites and 62.0 percent for Negroes. This percentage was the lowest among the industries for whites and the third lowest for Negroes.

Over the years whites maintained a rather constant proportion of inmates in manufacturing and trade-service and industries which produced the highest success rate among the industrial categories. The proportion in trade-service was low but followed no consistent pattern of change in share of whites assigned over the years. The share of farm workers tended to increase from 1957 to 1962 and then sag in 1963. But these workers represented a small share of the total workers in every year. Logging-forestry jobs were of little significance numerically in every year and did not follow a consistent pattern in proportional importance over the years. The share of white-collar workers was uniformly low and even this low share declined over the years. Because the success rates were low for white-collar workers, this

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declining role of white-collar workers does not explain the deterioration of the overall success rate of whites. The explanation lies in the generally increasing representation of construction and transportation workers which recorded rather low overall success rates.

Trade-service jobs on work release were of increasing proportional importance to Negroes over the years. These jobs were non-existent in 1957-1959 and rose consistently over the years to 30.5 percent of Negro jobs in 1963. The increase was particularly marked for the percentage of 17.9 in 1962 and 30.5 in 1963. This sharp increase contributed to the upturn in the overall Negro success rate between 1962 and 1963.

Meanwhile, Negro manufacturing jobs on work release declined over the years from 28.6 percent in 1957-1959 to 6.0 percent in 1963. Since Negroes had their highest success rates for manufacturing jobs, this pattern undermined the overall Negro success rate as the years progressed. This deterioration was further aggravated by the low success rates of construction, farm, and white-collar jobs on work release. Construction had moderate success rates and reduced its share of Negroes over the years, but this share remained large enough (29.0 percent in 1963) to have great influence on the overall rate. Meanwhile, farming and white-collar jobs had the lowest success rates for Negroes. Farming jobs had a declining share of total Negroes over the years, but nevertheless represented 16.4 percent of the inmates in 1962 and 10.6 percent in 1963. White-collar jobs were very irregular in their share of Negroes over the years and usually represented a small proportion of Negroes. Nevertheless, white-collar workers represented 11.1 percent of the Negroes placed on the program in 1962, the first year in which Negroes comprised a reasonable proportion of inmates on work release. In this way, the white-collar workers depressed the 1962 rate. Since they represented only 6.0 percent of the 1963 jobs of Negroes, the relative absence of white-collar workers contributed to the 1963 upturn in the overall success rate.

How did the work-release industrial groups compare in permitting the inmate to continue the occupation he held before imprisonment? Genezally, whites were more successful than Negroes in remaining within the same industrial category as their pre-prison employment. Construction and manufacturing had the highest retention rates. For construction 61.7 percent of the whites and 56.9 percent of the Negroes retained the same category. Since whites on construction jobs during work release had lowest success rates for work-release outcome, the retention of the pre-prison industrial category did not necessarily bring better work-release performance. For manufacturing the retention percentages were 61.2 for whites and 50.0 for Negroes. Farming retained approximately 42 percent for both races. Logging-forestry also was about the same for both races--25.6 percent for whites and 24.1 percent for Negroes. Trade-and-services had higher retention for Negroes (27.5 percent) than whites (20.7 percent). Similarly, 19.0 percent of the Negroes and 12.2 percent of the whites in the transportation job sphere while on work release had been in the same sphere in pre-prison employment. The greatest difference between the races was for the white-collar group--37.5 percent of the whites and 7.5 percent of the Negroes.

The high retention rate for construction is predictable in light of the high personnel turnover for this seasonal occupation. The demand for farm and logging labor, also seasonal, would be open especially to work-release prisoners because of the relatively low competition for the low pay provided. Inmates with the appropriate work-experience would be more likely to accept farm and logging employment.

LENGTH OF TIME OF WORK RELEASE

If work release is to be effective, the inmate should be on the program for a reasonable period of time. If the primary objective is to use the approach to promote rehabilitation of the inmate and ease the problems he will encounter upon release from prison, there should be sufficient exposure to work release to permit the benefits of the program to operate. If the primary objective is to provide employment for the inmate and reduce the costs of prison operations, excessive turnover of the work-release labor force should be avoided. Furthermore, low average time on work release frequently indicates the program is encounttering difficulties through excessive number of failures or abortive terminations of cases.

The length of time assigned to work release is associated with the characteristics of the job in terms of stability of employment. Work-release jobs in manufacturing recorded the highest average of months on work release for whites. Logging-forestry for whites had the lowest average with the other industrial groups quite similar. Negroes, on the other hand, had the highest average for logging-forestry although relatively few inmates were so employed. Negroes in trade-and-service and farming were second only to logging-forestry. With the exception of logging-forestry, industrial groups did not differ markedly from one another in averages. However, regardless of industrial category, Negroes exceeded whites in maintaining steady employment on work release.

For Negroes the average length of time on work release was inversely related to level of skill forthe job. The averages were 4.3 months for skilled, 5.5 for semi-skilled, and 5.7 for unskilled jobs of Negro work-releasees. Semi-skilled jobs produced the greatest job stability among whites: 4.2 months for skilled, 5.5 months for semi-skilled, and 4.4 months for unskilled jobs.

Did the amount of time on work release increase consistently with greater length of the period of confinement? To answer this question, the average number of months on work release was determined for each category of length of confinement. The average time on work release was divided by the midpoint of each length of confinement group to create ratios. These ratios decline consistently with greater length of confinement. In short, the shorter the period of confinement the longer the proportion of confinement the inmate was likely to serve on work release.

TABLE 4: WORK-RELEASE OUTCOME BY LENGTH OF CONFINEMENT AND RACE

Outcome on Work Release

Length of Confinement in Months	Number of Inmates	Success	Rule Violations	Absences	Escapes	Job Terminated	Other Abort.
WHITE			PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS*				
Less 3	281	34.9	14.6	12.1	22.1	9.6	6.7
3-6	457	72.8	9.2	5.5	4.4	2.2	5.9
6-9	279	65.2	9.7	7.2	7.9	6.4	3.6
9-12	215	74.4	10.7	6.0	4.7	3.3	.9
12-24	246	72.8	11.4	5.3	5.3	2.8	2.4
24 over	86	70.9	5.8	8.1	3.5	7.0	4.7
NEGRO							
Less 3	124	29.0	24.2	14.5	16.1	9.7	6.5
3-6	178	83.2	5.6	2.8	3.4	3.9	1.1
6-9	85	72.9	11.7	5.9	2.4	2.4	4.7
9-12	91	74.7	6.6	6.6	5.5	4.4	2.2
12-24	131	60.3	16.0	4.6	6.1	7.6	5.4
24 over	75	76.0	8.0	4.0	1.3	8.0	2.7

* Total for each row equals 100 percent.

Before analyzing the effect on outcome of length of time on work release, we must provide a framework for understanding. This variation would have influence on the significance of work-release for the prisoner. The longer his period of confinement[2] the greater the likelihood that the prisoner would be isolated from the community life to which he was to be reintegrated at time of release from prison. Work release has been advocated as a means of promoting such reintegration. Does lengthening of the period of confinement reduce the effectiveness of performance on work release?

Table 4 demonstrates that lengthened periods of incarceration does not result in a decline in effectiveness of performance. In fact, the relationship is ambivalent. The most remarkable development is the low success rate of the inmates serving less than three months in prison. Although all forms of failure and abortive termination are particularly prevalent among these prisoners, their proneness to escape is noteworthy.

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[2] The period of confinement differs from the length of sentence. It is of shorter duration because of gained-time credits and the possibility of earlier release through parole. However, of greater importance, the discrepancy between length of confinement and length of sentence differs among particular prisoners. Therefore, the distribution of inmates will differ for each of these variables.

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However, the length of the period of confinement is not the crucial variable for measuring the consequences of work release. The length of the time the inmate was assigned to work release is more pertinent. The length of overall confinement is of chief importance in that it sets one of the limitations on the length of time an inmate could be assigned to work release. Another limitation is the length of time in prison before the inmate is accepted for membership among the work releasees. We will return to this second limitation.

In Tables 5 and 6 we have established four categories to gain control over the variability of length of confinement. "Short confinement" is defined as less than three months, "moderate short confinement" as three to six months, "medium confinement" as six to twelve months, and "long confinement" as a year or more. Within the limits of each period of confinement, the length of time on work release has been categorized to permit comparison between the several confinement groups according to final outcome of the work-release case.

For each confinement category, the proportion of successful cases increases as the length of time on work release progresses. This pattern is expected because the inmates most likely to be unsuccessful are filtered out as the time on

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TABLE 5: WORK-RELEASE OUTCOME BY TIME ON WORK RELEASE AND LENGTH OF CONFINEMENT FOR WHITES

Number of Months on Work Release by Length of Confinement	Outcome on Work Release Success	Rule Violation	Absence	Escape	Job Term.	Other Abort.
WHITE	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS*					
SHORT CONFINEMENT (Less 3 mos.)						
Less 1 mo.	28.8	9.3	13.5	29.7	11.9	6.8
1-2 mos.	32.3	18.7	11.5	22.9	9.4	5.2
2-3 mos.	46.0	19.1	11.1	7.9	6.4	9.5
MODERATE SHORT CONFINEMENT (3-6 mos.)						
Less 1 mo.	41.7	8.3	8.3	16.7	12.5	12.5
1-2 mos.	67.2	5.2	6.9	5.2	13.8	1.7
2-4 mos.	71.6	9.5	6.3	4.5	6.3	1.8
4-6 mos.	81.6	10.5	3.3	2.0	1.3	1.3
MEDIUM CONFINEMENT (6-12 mos.)						
Less 1 mo.	22.2	7.4	11.1	33.3	18.5	7.4
1-2 mos.	41.9	14.0	11.6	11.6	11.6	9.3
2-4 mos.	63.2	8.0	9.2	9.2	6.9	3.5
4-6 mos.	73.7	11.3	6.0	2.2	3.8	3.0
6-9 mos.	76.2	11.6	4.3	4.3	2.4	1.2
9-12 mos.	90.7	4.6	4.6	---	---	---
LONG CONFINEMENT (12 mos.-over)						
Less 1 mo.	14.3	7.1	14.3	14.3	28.6	21.4
1-2 mos.	51.9	18.5	11.1	14.8	3.7	---
2-4 mos.	68.9	15.6	8.9	4.4	2.2	---
4-6 mos.	73.0	13.5	5.8	1.9	3.9	1.9
6-9 mos.	71.4	12.2	6.1	6.1	2.1	2.1
9-12 mos.	85.9	1.6	4.7	3.1	4.7	---
12 mos.-over	85.1	6.8	2.7	2.7	2.7	---

* Total of each row equals 100 percent.

TABLE 6: WORK-RELEASE OUTCOME BY TIME ON WORK RELEASE AND LENGTH OF CONFINEMENT FOR NEGROES

Number of Months on Work Release by Length of Confinement	Outcome on Work Release					
	Success	Rule Violation	Absence	Escape	Job Term.	Other Abort.
NEGRO	PERCENTAGE DISTRUBUTIONS*					
SHORT CONFINEMENT (Less 3 mos.)						
Less 1 mo.	25.5	19.6	9.8	21.6	13.7	9.8
1-2 mos.	26.2	23.8	19.0	16.7	9.5	4.8
2-3 mos.	42.9	25.0	17.9	7.2	3.5	3.5
MODERATE SHORT CONFINEMENT (3-6 mos.)						
Less 1 mo.	40.0	30.0	----	10.0	20.0	----
1-2 mos.	85.7	----	14.3	----	----	----
2-4 mos.	80.5	4.2	4.2	6.9	4.2	----
4-6 mos.	89.9	4.5	0.9	----	1.8	1.8
MEDIUM CONFINEMENT (6-12 mos.)						
Less 1 mo.	50.0	20.0	10.0	----	20.0	----
1-2 mos.	55.6	----	22.2	22.2	----	----
2-4 mos.	33.3	26.7	6.7	13.3	13.3	6.7
4-6 mos.	47.4	15.8	10.5	----	10.5	15.8
6-9 mos.	79.0	6.5	4.8	4.8	----	4.8
9-12 mos.	92.6	3.7	----	----	----	3.7
LONG CONFINEMENT (12 mos.-over)						
Less 1 mo.	28.6	----	----	28.6	28.6	14.2
2-4 mos.	38.9	44.4	----	5.6	5.6	5.6
4-6 mos.	51.7	10.3	6.9	13.8	13.8	3.5
6-9 mos.	55.2	17.3	10.3	----	10.3	6.9
9-12 mos.	61.6	16.6	5.6	----	5.6	11.1
12 mos.-over	78.4	13.7	3.9	2.0	----	2.0

* Total of each row equals 100 percent.

work release progresses. Consequently, the most favorable inmates become more dominant as the less favorable inmates drop out of the particular subgroup.

More noteworthy is the greater mortality of work-release cases for a particular time-on-work-release category as the period of confinement is increased. For example, compare success rates for the less-than-one-month-on-work-release subgroup for each of the confinement categories. For whites, these rates are 28.8 percent for short confinement, 41.7 percent for moderate short confinement, 22.2 for medium confinement, and 14.3 for long confinement. Through such comparisons, the following conclusions were reached.

The short period of confinement is the least effective in producing favorable outcome. A popular assumption is that the briefer the period of confinement the more favorable the prospects that the inmate will possess qualitites favorable for reintegration into society. Our data indicate this assumption is an oversimplification. When the observer considers the kinds of human beings selected for short prison terms, the conclusion is understandable. Violators of liquor laws are particularly represented among these short-term prisoners in North Carolina. Individuals likely to be imprisoned for drinking are particularly prone to repeated imprisonment and unreliability as employees.

Although moderate short confinement is superior to short confinement in performance, the outcome on work release usually deteriorates as the period of confinement is extended for inmates with an equivalent period of experience on work-release. In other words, beyond a moderate period of confinement, the inmate's prospects as a work releasee decline with prolonged confinement.

Regardless of the length of confinement, the chances that an inmate will escape are particularly high in the early phases of a work-release career. Although the importance of escape tended to decline as the time on work release lengthened, escapes usually occur throughout the range of time on work release. For the shorter periods of confinement, the proclivity for escape was maintained through a higher incidence in each of the shorter time-on-work-release categories. Whites are particularly prone to escape.

As the period on work-release is extended for each confinement group, the failures usually tend to be increasingly concentrated in either rule violations or unauthorized absences. The latter can be interpreted as a special kind of rule violation.

Abortive terminations are more likely to occur early but are more characteristic of inmates serving longer periods of confinement. Apparently, long stays in prison are adverse to effective exploitation of the benefits of work release.

ELAPSED TIME BEFORE ASSIGNMENT

When work-release is employed as a means of minimizing the adverse consequences of imprisonment, a major objective is to counter the possibilities of what Clemmer has called "prisonization."[3] He interprets the process of prisonization as a special example of assimilation whereby the migrant takes over the folkways, mores, customs, and general culture of a society he has joined. After serving years in prison, the inmate takes over the prison culture as his own. He learns to accept an inferior role, accumulates facts concerning the daily operations within the prison as an organization, develops habits tuned to the rituals of eating, dressing, and so on within the prison, and adopts a prison slang. More importantly, he is moved toward adoption of a value system congenial to criminality if he did not have such a value system when he entered prison.

Particularly pertinent to our study is Clemmer's contention that prisonization is impeded by a short sentence in that it shortens the period of time to which the inmate is subjected to the conditions favoring prisonization. Work-release can have a similar consequence in two senses. First, it removes the prisoner from the prison world for a portion of the day to reduce the opportunity for contacts with the circumstances and the other inmates who favor prisonization. Second, it orients the prisoner toward life outside the prison walls and toward maintaining his allegiance to that world. In this way, work release provides an alternative to succumbing to the pressures of inmate culture under his feelings of rejection by the community outside the walls. To test the validity of the view that reduced imprisonment will reduce the effects of prisonization, we hypothesize that successful work-release performance indicates the operation of the two benefits cited above.

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[3] Donald Clemmer, The Prison Community, New York: Rinehart, 1958, pp. 298-304.

The length of the period of the inmate's confinement was related to the number of months the inmate served before he was assigned to work release. This relationship was used to determine patterns in work-release outcome in Tables 7 and 8.

The sooner a man is put on work release the greater the probability that he will succeed. Within each category for length of confinement, the success rate declines as the time before assignment increases. Among the white inmates in prison for nine months or more, the consistent decline in success rates is broken by those inmates placed on the program 12 to 24 months after admission to prison. This discrepancy is a product of the necessity to combine a number of length of confinement categories

TABLE 7: WHITES: WORK-RELEASE OUTCOME BY LENGTH OF CONFINEMENT AND TIME IN PRISON BEFORE ASSIGNMENT TO WORK RELEASE

Length of Confinement by Months Before Confinement	Outcome on Work Release					
	Success	Rule Violation	Absence	Escape	Job Term.	Other Abort.
LESS 1 MONTH CONFINEMENT			PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS			
Less 1 week	46.4	8.9	10.7	26.8	3.6	3.6
1 week-1 mo.	9.1	18.2	----	72.7	----	----
1-2 MONTHS CONFINEMENT						
Less 1 week	29.8	23.4	17.0	23.4	4.3	2.1
1 week-1 mo.	20.7	10.4	17.2	20.7	17.2	13.8
1-2 mos.	11.8	----	17.6	29.4	29.4	11.8
2-6 MONTHS CONFINEMENT						
Less 1 week	68.8	11.9	7.3	5.1	3.7	3.2
1 week-1 mo.	67.9	11.3	3.8	9.4	4.7	2.8
1-4 mos.	64.2	9.4	6.6	6.2	9.9	3.7
4-6 mos.	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	42.8	----
6-9 MONTHS CONFINEMENT						
Less 1 week	73.2	11.3	5.6	2.8	5.6	1.4
1 week-1 mos.	72.4	13.8	3.4	6.9	----	3.4
1-4 mos.	70.4	8.2	8.2	5.1	4.0	4.0
4-6 mos.	51.0	9.8	7.8	11.8	13.7	5.9
6-9 mos.	46.4	3.6	10.7	25.0	10.7	3.6
9 MONTHS OVER-CONFINEMENT						
Less 1 week	91.6	4.2	4.2	----	----	----
1 week-1 mo.	91.9	5.4	----	2.7	----	----
1-4 mos.	83.0	6.4	3.2	2.1	3.2	2.1
4-9 mos.	69.4	15.3	4.7	5.9	4.1	0.6
9-12 mos.	62.3	14.8	11.5	9.8	1.6	----
12-24 mos.	68.1	7.7	9.9	3.3	5.5	5.5
24 mos.-more	57.5	8.5	8.5	8.5	8.5	8.5

TABLE 8: NEGROES: WORK-RELEASE OUTCOME BY LENGTH OF CONFINEMENT AND TIME IN PRISON BEFORE ASSIGNMENT TO WORK RELEASE

Length of Confinement by Months Before Confinement	Outcome on Work Release					
	Success	Rule Violation	Absence	Escape	Job Term.	Other Abort.
LESS 1 MONTH CONFINEMENT	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION					
Less 1 week	29.7	21.6	8.1	21.6	10.8	8.1
1 week-1 mo.	----	----	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0
1-2 MONTHS CONFINEMENT						
Less 1 week	26.7	30.0	16.6	16.6	10.0	----
1 week-1 mo.	----	16.7	33.3	33.3	----	16.7
1-2 mos.	50.0	25.0	----	----	----	25.0
2-6 MONTHS CONFINEMENT						
Less 1 week	80.2	7.6	6.1	3.0	2.3	0.8
1 week-1 mo.	69.2	10.3	7.7	2.6	5.1	5.1
1-4 mos.	61.7	14.9	2.1	8.5	6.4	6.4
4-6 mos.	50.0	----	----	25.0	25.0	----
6-9 MONTHS CONFINEMENT						
Less 1 week	85.2	7.4	3.7	----	3.7	----
1 week-1 mo.	57.1	14.3	14.3	----	----	14.3
1-4 mos.	72.0	12.0	4.0	----	4.0	8.0
4-6 mos.	56.3	18.8	6.2	12.5	----	6.2
6-9 mos.	75.0	12.5	12.5	----	----	----
9 MONTHS-OVER CONFINEMENT						
Less 1 week	84.2	15.8	----	----	----	----
1 week-1 mo.	100.0	----	----	----	----	----
1-4 mos.	73.3	6.7	4.4	8.9	----	6.7
4-9 mos.	62.5	9.7	6.9	5.6	13.9	1.4
9-12 mos.	54.1	21.6	13.5	5.4	5.4	----
12-24 mos.	55.6	6.7	13.3	6.7	4.4	13.3
24 mos-over	70.8	6.2	2.1	6.2	12.5	2.1

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to raise the size of cell frequencies to generate reliable patterns. When these categories are treated separately, the decline in success rates is consistent with increased period before assignment to work release. The inmates with two years or more in prison inflate the success rate at the 12-24 month level of time before assignment.

The longer the period of confinement, the greater the advantage in placing the man on the program early in the program. This advantage entails a comparison of equivalent time-before-work-release levels over the continuum of length-of-confinement categories. For example, take the whites assigned to work-release one week to one month after admission to prison. For inmates serving one month in prison, only 9.1 percent of the cases were successful. This percentage increases consistently to 91.9 percent for inmates serving nine months or more in prison. For whites, the one-to-two-months in prison group breaks the consistency for the less than-one-week-before-assignment category for the single discrepancy. The smaller total number of Negroes reduces the items in many of the cells of Table 8 to erode the reliability of many of the rates. However, the central thrust of the success rates supports the hypothesis.

The most obvious method of examining work-release performance is to compare proportion of successes for various criteria available for selecting among candidates for work release. Another method is to compare the lengths of service on work release before the inmate had to be removed for transgressions or abortive causes. In the shadowy area between complete success and failure is this matter of satisfactory performance for a time before failure. How do the inmates who failed differ in the length of satisfactory service before such failure?

First offenders avoided failure for a longer period than recidivists among whites but hard-core recidivist Negroes were superior in this respect. White first offenders who failed were on the program an average of four months, whereas moderate recidivists (one or two previous sentences) averaged three months and hard-core recidivists (three or more previous sentences) averaged 3.4 months. The advantage for first offenders would have been even greater if those who escaped did not make their attempt early in their work-release career--1.7 months compared with 2.6 months for moderate recidivists and 2.4 months for hard-core recidivists. Negro hard-core recidivists had the greatest work-release longevity (4.7 months) compared with 3.6 months for both first offenders and moderate recidivists. The relationship held for all types of failure. For abortive terminations, first offenders were high among whites and hard-core recidivists among Negroes.

Apparently recidivism has different significance for the two races. Because of racial mores and the greater impact of law enforcement on the lower social classes which draw

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particularly heavily on Negroes, the Negro first offender is less likely than the white first offender to experience prison life as a drastically new environment in terms of the inferior status which he has been thrust. Therefore, motivation to avoid prisonization of attitudes probably would be stronger among white first offenders. Furthermore, the work-release opportunities for the races differed in quality of job as measured by level of skill. The Negro recidivists would be more likely candidates for acceptance of the conditions of unskilled jobs and, with necessarily higher average ages than first offenders, be more congenial to unskilled jobs.

Marital status had little differentiating effect among failures for both races, but single men had slightly lower average work-release longevity. Whether married or single, escapists had the shortest period of time on work release. Presently married men had particularly brief longevity when their careers were aborted.

The chief influence of age was a special proclivity for brief tenure for white failures in age groups 21 to 35 years with men over 40 recording the best performance. For Negroes the low point was limited to ages 21 to 24 but the men over 45 tended to drop in longevity on work release. The patterns largely were the product of escapist behavior. Abortive

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terminations tended to show an irregular decline in longevity with higher age.

In spite of the popular assumption that misdemeanants are better prospects for work release, felons of both races surpassed misdemeanants in length of time on work release before failure or abortive terminations. It may be that felons were inhibited by realization that they had more to lose through failure on work-release because of a greater length of imprisonment facing them.

Inmates convicted of murder, manslaughter or robbery had the highest average length of time on work release before failure. Liquor and traffic offenders had the lowest averages. These patterns are consistent with the experience of parole authorities that murderers make better prospects than short-term alcohol offenders because of the association of each offense with certain personality characteristics on the average.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORK RELEASEES

The region may be employed to relate geographic factors to social-cultural characteristics of its inhabitants. In a particular region the communities of people are affected in a special way by topography, characteristics of soil and climate, and mineral resources. Such natural resources contribute to the development of a particular economic structure to form characteristic systems of occupation, income distribution, and class stratification. Through a history of adaptation to the geographic-economic setting, a regional culture develops with its particular shading of social institutions.

We are interested in the concept of region because of our assumption that the administration of work release is strongly influenced by the social, economic, and cultural qualities of the larger social system of which the prison is a component. Work release adds a portion of the prisoner population to the labor force of the community outside prison walls. Certainly, there must be changes in the attitudes of prison authorities if they prevent the development of work release because their convictions and traditions oppose any program of partial release as inconsistent with the purposes of the prison as a social institution. But, for the sake of simpler discussion, let us assume that the prison authorities are firmly in support of rapid expansion of the work-release idea. This assumption frees us to focus on the other aspect of the partnership suggested by the term "community-based correction." Will the outside community accept the idea and provide means for effective employment of the approach?

The response of the community will be affected by the type of local labor market and the receptivity of its inhabitants to the presence of prisoners as semi-free workers. The type of local labor market will be determined by a host of social, economic and geographical factors which are subject to intensive and voluminous study in their own right.[4] It is sufficient for our purposes to say that geographical and economic factors have made a certain mix of manufacturing, trade-and-service, agricultural, and other industrial activities characteristic of the labor force of a given community. There are certain relationships between the demand for and supply of various kinds of workers required for the particular local labor force. With a shortage of a particular element of that labor force, there is greater probability that the contribution of qualified prisoners will be welcomed by employers and will not be regarded by free workers as competitive. In this sense the particular characteristics of the local labor force will determine the degree of acceptance of work release and the types of work-releasee job skills which will receive the warmest welcome. Conversely, the nature of this acceptance will affect the promise of work release to the prisoner in terms of potential income and other job satisfactions he can reasonable expect.

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[4] An example of such studies of work release is: "William Douglas Cooper, "An Economic Analysis of the Work-Release Program in North Carolina," (Ph.D. dissertation), Raleigh: North Carolina State University at Raleigh, 1968.

To capture the general contours of the variations in socio-economic characteristics within North Carolina, this study employed the state economic areas developed by the United States Bureau of Census.[5] The nation was divided into parcels of land, each comprising a cluster of counties with similar economic, demographic, physical, and social characteristics. The nation was divided into five economic provinces which in turn were subdivided into 13 economic regions. The economic regions were then broken down into 119 economic subregions. The economic subregions can be employed to group the counties within a state into state economic areas. We have grouped

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[5] See Donald J. Bogue and Calvin L. Beale, Economic Areas of the United States, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961; U.S. Bureau of Census and Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Farm Population, Series Census-BAE, No. 19, "Economic Subregions of the United States," By Donald J. Bogue and Calvin L. Beale, June 1953.

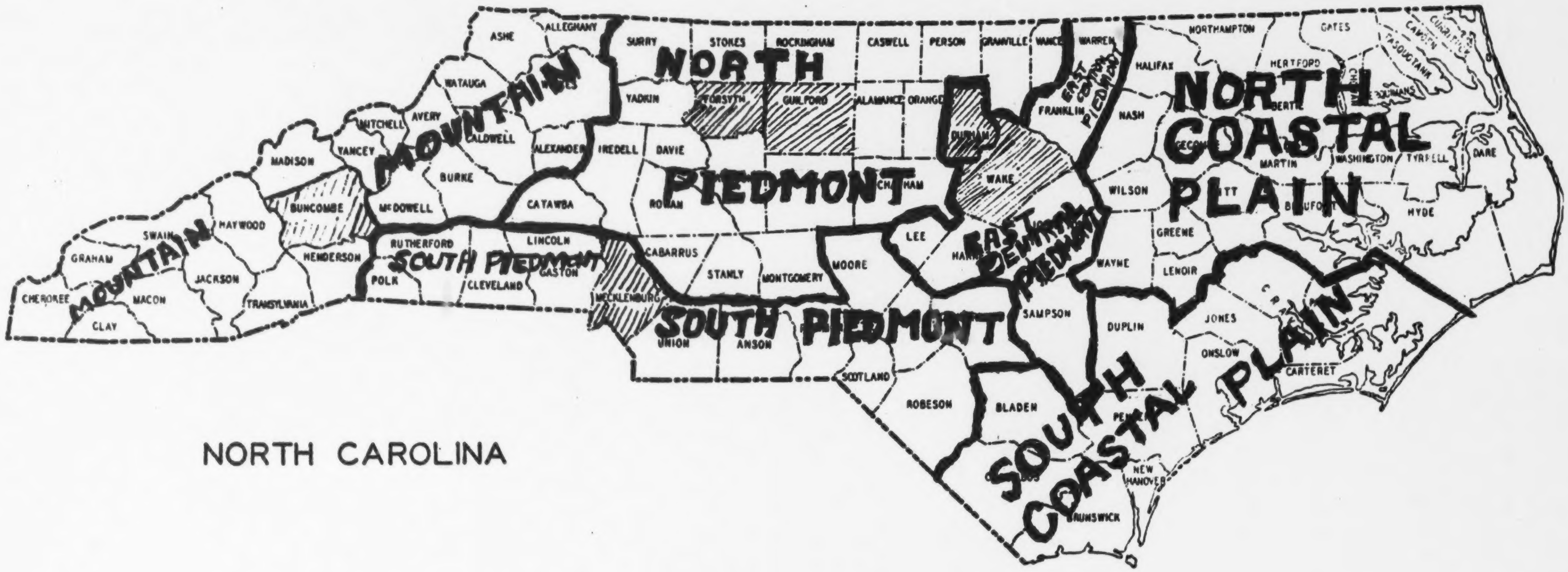
NORTH CAROLINA
MOUNTAIN
MOUNTAIN
NORTH PIEDMONT
SOUTH PIEDMONT
SOUTH PIEDMONT
EAST CENTRAL PIEDMONT
EAST CENTRAL PIEDMONT
NORTH COASTAL PLAIN
SOUTH COASTAL PLAIN
ASHE
ALLEGHANY
WATAUGA
AVERY
MITCHELL
YANCEY
CALDWELL
ALEXANDER
MADISON
BURKE
MCDOWELL
BUNCOMBE
CATAWBA
HAYWOOD
SWAIN
GRAHAM
CHEROKEE
CLAY
MACON
JACKSON
TRANSYLVANIA
HENDERSON
RUTHERFORD
POLK
CLEVELAND
LINCOLN
GASTON
MECKLENBURG
SURRY
STOKES
ROCKINGHAM
CASWELL
PERSON
GRANVILLE
VANCE
WARREN
YADKIN
FORSYTH
GUILFORD
ALAMANCE
ORANGE
DURHAM
FRANKLIN
IREDELL
DAVIE
ROWAN
CHATHAM
WAKE
CABARRUS
STANLY
MONTGOMERY
MOORE
LEE
HARNETT
UNION
ANSON
SCOTLAND
ROBESON
SAMPSON
BLADEN
HALIFAX
NORTHAMPTON
HERTFORD
GATES
NASH
WILSON
EDGECOMBE
BERTIE
MARTIN
PITT
BEAUFORT
WASHINGTON
TYRRELL
DARE
HYDE
GREENE
WAYNE
LENOIR
DUPLIN
JONES
ONSLOW
CRAVEN
CARTERET
PENDER
NEW HANOVER
BRUNSWICK
CURRITUCK
CAMDEN
PASQUOTANK
PERQUIMANS
CHOWAN

CHART A: REGIONS ACCORDING TO SENTENCING COURT FOR INMATES PUT ON WORK RELEASE, 1957-1963.

Metropolitan counties indicated by shading.

the state economic areas of North Carolina in a form congenial to our data on work release. These regional groups within North Carolina are presented in Chart A. The system of state economic areas also provided standard metropolitan statistical areas which include a central city (or cities) of 50,000 or more. In North Carolina, six counties were designated as metropolitan areas: Buncombe (city of Asheville), Durham (Durham), Forsyth (Winston-Salem), Guilford (Greensboro), Mecklenberg (Charlotte), and Wake (Raleigh). Our data were treated so these counties could be extracted to permit a comparison between metropolitan and non-metropolitan counties.

In 1960 North Carolina ranked twelfth among the states in total population and seventeenth in density of population.[6] Over half of the population is concentrated in the Piedmont, the central third of the State, while the western mountain and eastern coastal plain regions are more sparsely inhabited. Although one of the least urban states, North Carolina has recorded a greater rate of urban growth than the nation as a whole with the Piedmont dominant in this development. Eastern North Carolina continues to be the stronghold of rurality typified by tenancy and sharecropping. In the western mountain region, small subsistence farms and a folk culture are prominent features. However, a dominant theme is movement from a rural-dominated society to a highly urbanized one.

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[6] This summary was adapted from Paul E. Zorf, Jr., North Carolina: A Demographic Profile, Chapel Hill: Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina, 1967.

Although agriculture continues to be a fundamental influence, manufacturing supplies a larger share of the State's labor force than the nation as a whole. Textiles are the largest manufacturing industry. Other leading industries are tobacco, chemical manufacturing, lumber and timber products, furniture, and food processing. In non-manufacturing other than construction, transportation, and governmental employment are also important. Negroes continue to occupy the low-status jobs and show less occupational mobility than whites. The population is highly mobile. The net losses from interstate migration are especially marked for Negroes and persons aged 18-to-30 years. Within North Carolina, there are large shifts from the farming areas into the industrialized Piedmont.

Type of measurement. It should be emphasized that the data record the sentencing court, not the locale where the inmate served on work release. Although the measurement is not precisely tailored to our needs, the place of original sentencing is useful because the bulk of the prisoners in North

Carolina are assigned to prisons near their home when other factors do not counterindicate. This point is especially germane to short-term misdemeanants and to those prisoners with behavioral characteristics likely to make them worthy candidates for work-release.

One source of discrepancy would be the assignment of felons to the several prisons which qualify as prisons in the usual sense. Most of the prison units in North Carolina are small because they were designed to supply inmates for highway maintenance labor. Both misdemeanants and felons are housed in such units but not usually in the same unit. Some prisoners of both types are transferred to the maximum-custody prisons (Central, Ivey Bluff or Odum Prisons) or medium-custody prisons (Caledonia Prison Farm or Polk Youth Center). Maximum or close-custody would not be eligible for work release. The medium-custody transferees could create discrepancies for our assumption that sentencing court and place of imprisonment are the same locale.

Another difficulty would be the commission of crimes in counties other than the home-county of the offender. Assignment of the prisoner near his home would erode the reliability of our measurement.

We contend that the locale of the sentencing court does measure the locale of the work-release service. The geographical span of the regions would negate a large share of the discrepancies. Also many of the discrepancies would cancel each other out. Of most importance is the fact that work-releasees are not the equivalent of prisoners in general in terms of personal and behavioral characteristics. They have been selected out of the general prisoner population for trustworthiness and possession of work aptitudes and attitudes favorable to work-release conditions. The local prisoner would be more apt to be found congenial to the local labor market available to work-release employment in terms of such aptitudes and attitudes. The selection process originates in the local prison and would center largely on those prisoners immediately available. Transfers from other prisons will be made only when the local prisoner population can not fill a work-release job. Prison authorities are reluctant to make such a transfer for a work releasee. The possibly adverse consequences of transferring a prisoner away from home often would undermine the motivation of the prisoner when his own self-discipline is essential to controling him in a relatively permissive environment.

Urban concentration. The regional distributions found work releasees heavily concentrated in the urban and industrialized sections of the State. This pattern is expected because work-release relies heavily on the job market available in urban areas. The bulk of the work releasees were located in the Piedmont. Of the whites, 36.5 per cent were in the North Piedmont, 24.7 per cent in the South Piedmont, 18.5 per cent in the East Central Piedmont. Only 10.2 per cent were in the Mountain, 5.2 per cent in the North Coastal Plain, and 4.9 per cent in the South Coastal Plain. The same general patterns were present among Negroes: 39.0 per cent in North Piedmont, 23.2 per cent in the South Piedmont, 29.5 per cent East Central Piedmont, 2.2 per cent Mountain, 3.2 per cent North Coastal, and 2.9 per cent South Coastal.

The under-representation of Negroes in the Mountain area is expected in light of the relatively sparse Negro population there. The heavy concentration of Negroes in the Coastal Plain failed to produce a proportion of Negroes equal to that of whites. This gross under-representation of Negroes attests to the special labor market requirements of work release and the particular problems in developing a program in an area emphasizing unskilled labor for a particular class of prisoner. The history of plantations in the Coastal Plain has produced racial mores particularly adverse to broad extension of work-release to Negro prisoners.

The occupational distribution of a particular region would affect the probable employment experience of prisoners. In this way, the characteristics of a particular region would be among the latent factors in determining the suitability of inmates for work-release and in determining whether the labor market was congenial to employment of work-releasees.

The South Coastal Plain had the highest proportion of cases with successful terminations for both races. This region produced few inmates for the program, thereby reducing the significance of this advantage for the program as a whole. Among the industries construction produced the lowest success rate for whites and only a modest rate for Negroes. Probably the small number of inmates drawn from construction accounted for much of the success of South Coastal Plain.

Of greater significance to the work-release program as a whole was the success rate for North Piedmont which had both the largest number of inmates on the program and the second highest success rate for both races. This region produced a disproportionately high number of work releasees who had previous experience in manufacturing which is second only to white-collar occupations in maintaining a high success rate among pre-prison occupational categories for whites. North Piedmont Negroes had an unusually large share among those Negroes drawn from manufacturing occupations which had the highest success rate for Negroes among pre-prison occupational categories.

The East Central Piedmont was in third place among the regions in successful work-release outcome for whites and in fifth place for Negroes. The construction and trade-service occupations before imprisonment were particularly important for both races in this region. These occupations depressed the success rate. However, in this region the whites also were drawn from transportation and farming occupations sufficiently to benefit from the higher success rates of these pre-prison occupations.

The South Piedmont was second in success rate for Negroes and fifth for whites. The Negroes in manufacturing before entering prison had the most favorable work-release performance of their race. The benefits accruing to South Piedmont, however, were countered to some degree by the depressing effect of the trade-service and white collar workers included among Negroes in this region. The latter two pre-prison employment categories had the least satisfactory records among Negroes in work-release outcome. Although South Piedmont whites were drawn from manufacturing and white collar occupations in sizeable numbers, the favorable outcome of these categories was insufficient to counter the affects of construction and trade-service occupations which had both significant numbers and unfavorable performance on work release.

North Coastal Plain had the lowest level of work-release performance among whites and ranked fourth among Negroes in spite of an excessive number of abortive terminations. Both races drew disproportionately from inmates experienced in construction. The heavier representation of construction workers plus a relatively importance reliance on former agricultural workers had a more adverse affect on whites.

Negroes were grossly under-represented in the Mountain region. These few inmates were heavily drawn from trade-service occupations which had unfavorable records on work-release. The high number of abortive terminations among Negroes in the Mountains is noteworthy. Whites in the region had a modest success rate because inmates drawn from manufacturing, transportation, and agriculture were sufficient to mitigate the adverse consequences on the overall region success rate of the whites drawn from construction and trade-and-service work.

Criteria in selection. Did the regions differ in relative emphasis in applying various criteria in selecting prisoners for work release? The East Central Piedmont particularly emphasized misdemeanants over felons whereas Mountain and North Coastal favored felons. Otherwise favoring of either felons or misdemeanants was not noteworthy. For both races the three Piedmont regions had lower average sentences than the other regions. Among whites regions emphasized property crimes with the exception of North Piedmont and East Central Piedmont which preferred moral offenses involving family, liquor, or traffic. For Negroes, crimes against persons were accepted to a greater degree than for whites by all regions. Moral offenses were particularly characteristic of North Piedmont and East Central Piedmont.

The regions varied in distinguishing between first offenders and recidivists. Mountain and South Coastal heavily favored first offenders of both races. North Piedmont preferred first offenders among whites but was more lenient toward moderate recidivists among Negroes. Conversely, South Piedmont leaned toward white moderate recidivists but first offenders among Negroes. Among the regions, East Central Piedmont had the highest proportion of hard-core recidivists of both races. North Coastal ran a close second. Marital status had different meanings among the regions for whites but not for Negroes. For whites, Mountain and the Coastal plain especially favored single men. The Piedmont regions were most likely to accept whites with broken marriages, whereas the South Coastal and Mountain particularly avoided such men.

TABLE 9: OUTCOME ON WORK RELEASE BY REGION AND RACE

Region	Number of Inmates	Success	Failure	Aborted	Totals
		Outcome on Work Release			
WHITE			PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION		
Mountain	159	62.3	25.8	11.9	100.0
N. Piedmont	571	67.3	26.4	6.3	100.0
S. Piedmont	386	60.9	29.3	9.8	100.0
East Central Piedmont	289	66.1	26.0	7.9	100.0
N. Coastal	81	55.6	21.0	23.4	100.0
S. Coastal	77	76.6	13.0	10.4	100.0
NEGRO					
Mountain	15	53.3	26.3	20.0	100.0
N. Piedmont	267	69.3	21.0	9.7	100.0
S. Piedmont	159	64.8	26.4	8.8	100.0
East Central Piedmont	202	62.4	29.7	7.9	100.0
N. Coastal	22	63.6	9.1	27.3	100.0
S. Coastal	20	75.0	15.0	10.0	100.0

For whites the chi-square value is significant at less than the 1 per cent level. The small number of cases for Negroes creates too many sparse cells for reliable testing for significance.

Metropolitan versus non-metropolitan. The urban setting is particularly favorable to expansion of work release. The six metropolitan counties had 47 per cent of the whites and 68.8 per cent of the Negroes placed on the program in a state with 100 counties. The two Coastal regions had no metropolitan county. Furthermore, Buncombe county in Mountain made a small contribution to the metropolitan work releasees. The five Piedmont counties provided 95.5 per cent of the metropolitan whites and 97.2 per cent of the metropolitan Negroes. The urban concentration was particularly marked for the East Central Piedmont.

On the other hand, the non-metropolitan counties scored higher success rates than the metropolitan counties in the same region with the exception of Negroes in Mountain and East Central Piedmont. The small number of urban Negroes (two) justifies ruling out Mountain as an exception. Similarly East Central Piedmont produced only eight non-urban Negroes out of 202 Negroes assigned to the work release in the region.

Why the higher rates for non-metropolitan counties? One clue is offered by the marked difference for whites between the metropolitan and non-metropolitan counties in the occupations held by the inmates before imprisonment. The metropolitan work releasees had a greater concentration of whites drawn

TABLE 10: OUTCOME ON WORK RELEASE BY REGION, METROPOLITAN STATUS, AND RACE

	Success	Failure	Abort.	Success	Failure	Abort.
METROPOLITAN	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS					
Mountain	51.5	33.3	15.2	53.8	30.8	15.4
N.Piedmont	64.5	30.2	5.3	66.0	23.9	10.4
S.Piedmont	55.3	36.6	8.1	60.4	31.5	8.1
E.C.Piedmont	64.6	28.3	7.1	62.8	29.8	7.4
N.Coastal	----	----	----	----	----	----
S.Coastal	----	----	----	----	----	----
NON-METROPOLITAN						
Mountain	65.1	23.8	11.1	----	50.0	50.0
N.Piedmont	69.6	23.2	7.2	74.1	16.7	9.2
S.Piedmont	66.7	21.7	11.6	75.0	14.6	10.4
E.C.Piedmont	73.5	14.3	12.2	57.1	28.6	14.3
N.Coastal	55.6	21.0	23.4	63.6	9.1	27.3
S.Coastal	76.6	13.0	10.4	75.0	15.0	10.0

from construction and trade-service work which had particularly low performance on work release. On the other hand, non-metropolitan whites exceeded their opposites in proportion of inmates drawn from manufacturing, farming, and logging which had higher success rates. Small industries based on agricultural and forestry products are characteristic of small towns in North Carolina.

Negroes of metropolitan counties exceeded those from non-metropolitan counties in proportion of inmates drawn from the low-performance industries among Negroes: Construction, trade-service, and white-collar work. The non-metropolitan counties had the advantage of proportion of inmates in high performance industries: farming and logging.

For both races the non-metropolitan counties produced a larger segment of work releasees drawn from industries less likely to attract urbanized personalities. The non-metropolitan counties tended to recruit a higher proportion of work releasees amenable to the self-discipline required by the program. This conclusion is further supported by a clear advantage of these counties in drawing first offenders among whites. The two types of counties do not differ significantly in recidivism among Negroes. Metropolitan inmates were under-represented among murderers and assault offenders who recorded at least reasonably high performance on work release and were over-represented among family and liquor violators who scored lower success rates.

The non-metropolitan inmates would have had even higher success rates if they had not exceeded metropolitan inmates in abortive terminations. In failures, the major share of their advantage over inmates drawn from urban counties came from avoidance of rule violations.

TWO MODES OF SELECTING CANDIDATES

In North Carolina the court may specifically recommend a convicted offender for work release at the time of sentencing. However, the correctional authorities need not consider this action as mandatory. Furthermore, the correctional authorities are authorized to place inmates on the program even though the inmate was not recommended by the sentencing court. Therefore, two modes of selection have emerged. Some work releasees have received both the court's recommendation and the approval of the correctional authorities. Therefore, they have received approval through two successive selection procedures. Other work releasees have received only the approval of the correctional authorities.

The selection of court-recommended cases was more marked for whites in the early years of the program. When the number of inmates accelerated rapidly in 1962 and 1963, the trend among whites was toward greater emphasis on inmates approved by correctional authorities without a court recommendation. Because non-court cases were rather stable over the years in success rates, the swing toward greater reliance on those cases reduced the impact on the overall white success rate of a decline of court-approved cases in success rate. Negroes were more heavily reliant on non-court-recommended cases. In fact, the first significant number of Negroes came in 1962 largely because of such cases. Unfortunately, these cases had particularly low success rate that year to indicate the courts required more experience in selection. The real influx of court-recommended cases for Negroes came in 1963, indicating a tardy recognition by courts of the wisdom of extending the opportunity to Negro to a significant degree. Furthermore, 1963 brought an increase in the success rate for court-approved cases among Negroes to suggest improvement in selection procedures.

In the gross sense there was no real difference between the two modes of selection in ultimate outcome of cases. Although the whites selected without court recommendation were more likely to perpetrate rule violations,

TABLE 11: OUTCOME ON WORK RELEASE BY MODE OF SELECTION AND RACE

	Mode of Selection for Work Release			
	White		Negro	
Outcome on Work Release	Court	Non-Court	Court	Non-Court
	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS			
Success	65.2	64.3	62.5	68.9
Rule Violation	9.7	12.0	12.1	11.9
Absence	6.6	7.8	6.3	5.9
Escape	8.3	8.3	6.1	6.5
Job Termin.	6.5	4.9	7.9	4.2
Other Abort.	3.6	2.7	5.1	2.6
Totals	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Inmates	936	627	331	354

Chi-square values for each of the races is not significant.

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their lower rate of loss through job terminations and other kinds of abortive outcome gave them about the same level of performance as whites approved by the sentencing court. The two modes of selection had about the same level of failure for Negroes, but the lower incidence of abortive terminations gave the advantage to the non-court cases in success rates. Nevertheless, the gross comparison fails to reveal a real difference in outcome for the two modes of selection. Now analysis turns to more refined comparisons to determine whether genuine differences lurk behind this gross similarity.

Time served before work release. Earlier it was noted that the eventual success rate is affected by the length of time served before the inmate is placed on work release. Table 12 demonstrates that the modes of selection differ markedly in the promptness with which an inmate is assigned to work release. The inmates assigned solely by correctional authorities usually are placed on the program reasonably promptly. These authorities were especially prone to favoring misdemeanants who could be placed on work release quite promptly because felons would have to make honor grade before they could be considered as candidates. The prison procedures require the inmate to serve a portion of

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TABLE 12: NUMBER OF MONTHS SERVED BEFORE ASSIGNMENT TO WORK RELEASE BY MODE OF SELECTION AND RACE

Mode of Assignment By Race	Number of Months Served Before Assignment to Work Release					
	Less 1 Month	1-4 Months	4-6 Months	6-12 Months	12 Months or More	Totals
			PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS			
WHITE						
Court	12.6	42.1	12.5	19.1	13.7	100.0
Non-Court	85.3	9.4	2.1	1.6	1.6	100.0
NEGRO						
Court	7.0	27.9	12.1	24.8	28.2	100.0
Non-Court	89.0	6.5	0.3	2.6	.8	100.0
PERCENTAGE OF SUCCESSFUL CASES						
WHITE						
Court	68.7	67.2	65.8	57.3	65.6	----
Non-Court	63.2	69.5	84.6	60.0	60.0	----
NEGRO						
Court	65.2	63.0	60.0	62.2	61.3	----
Non-Court	68.3	78.3	0.0	77.8	66.7	----

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his sentence before he could be promoted to honor grade. The delay provides a testing period, but the processing of honor-grade applicants in itself takes time in addition to the time required to process work-release applicants as the second round of administrative procedures. Misdemeanants usually are considered to be in honor-grade, therefore, the heavier concentration of felons among court-approved cases would raise the average length of time served before assigned to work release.

The success rates (also presented in Table 12) decline somewhat consistently with length of time served before work release for court-approved cases. The rates are quite irregular for cases approved solely by correctional authorities. Apparently, the successive selection of work-releasees by courts and then correctional authorities produced superior work-release candidates. Among these superior candidates, the delay in assignment to the program operated with greater impact than on the less favorable candidates selected from those prisoners not receiving approval from a sentencing judge.

How did this differential delay in assignment affect the success rates of the court and non-court cases respectively? To determine a reasonable answer, the court-approved cases

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where redistributed along the contimuum of time-served-before-assignment to work release. This redistribution was accomplished by multiplying the total number of court cases of each race by the percentage distribution of non-court cases along the continuum of time-served-before-assignment to work release. Each of these products was multiplied by the court-approved success rate for the particular category of time served before assignment. The sum of each of these new products was divided by the total number of court-recommended cases to obtain the adjusted success rate for the total court-approved cases of that race.

For whites, the adjusted rate was 68.3 per cent as compared to the 65.2 per cent success rate shown in Table 11. For Negroes, the adjusted rate was 64.9 per cent compared to 62.5 per cent in Table 11. The raising of the rate increased the advantage of court-recommended cases over non-court-recommended cases for whites and narrowed the inferiority of the court-recommended success rate for Negroes.

Therefore, the delay in approval of work-releasees operated to the detriment of court-recommended cases, depressed the overall success rate, and prevented the prison system to exploit fully the advantages of work release.

The inmates assigned without a court recommendation were heavily skewed toward misdemeanants with the consequence that they were assigned more promptly to the program on the average after admission to prison but spent a shorter period on the program. Of the whites assigned after receiving a court recommendation, 44.7 per cent were felons compared to only 21 per cent of those without a recommendation. For Negroes the court-recommended inmates were 60.7 per cent felon compared to 16.7 per cent of those not recommended.

Decision-making by correctional authorities alone was particularly deficient for white felons. If it were not for the skewing toward misdemeanants, the outcome for the non-court-recommended whites would have fallen far short of the performance by the equivalent Negroes. For non-recommended whites, misdemeanants were 66.2 per cent successful compared to 56.2 per cent for the felons. The deficiency was about the same for rule violations, unauthorized absences, and escapes. The recommended felons scored 66.6 per cent success and the recommended misdemeanants 64.1 per cent.

The deficiency of correctional authorities in selection cf white felons is remarkable in that they placed particular emphasis upon first offenders. But their first offenders fell particularly short of court-approved white first offenders in level of success rate. The differences in success rates were less when white moderate and hard-core recidivists,

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respectively, were compared by mode of selection. It appears that the more promising white felon first offenders were chosen by the courts, leaving correctional authorities with a lower average quality in the residual population.

The heavy concentration of felons for court-recommended cases operated to the detriment of the overall success rate for Negroes. These felons had only a success rate of 59.2 per cent compared to 66.9 per cent of the non-recommended misdemeanants largely because of a proclivity for unauthorized absences and abortive job terminations. Court-recommended Negro felons included a very low proportion of first-offenders whereas the Negro felons selected by correctional officials alone had the highest proportion among all the categories. Meanwhile, both Negro misdemeanant categories had virtual equivalents in success rates (69.0 and 69.5 per cent) and in proportion of first offenders.

For both races the court recommendations favored the property crimes of burglary and larceny while the non-court-recommended work releasees were especially concentrated in the moral crimes involving family, liquor, and traffic. Because the property offenses had the lowest percentage of successful outcome, the emphasis on property criminals dragged down the overall success rate for the court cases. The higher

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success rate for moral crimes favored the overall performance rate of work releasees approved by the correctional authorities alone.

Earlier it was noted that the overall success rate declined generally over the years but had a upturn in 1963. The source of the upturn can be attributed in part to the increased selection of moral offenders by correctional authorities alone in 1963. These offenders had the highest success rates whereas the court-approved cases lagged in the selection of these offenders.

The court-approved cases were drawn disproportionately from the age groups less than 35 years when compared with the non-court-approved cases. However, the differences in success rates among the age groups were not significant.

The two modes of selection resulted in different distributions for type of work release industry. For whites the court-approved cases were especially concentrated in the farming and logging-forestry industries and under-represented in manufacturing. Conversely, the whites put on the program by correctional authorities alone were represented disproportionately in manufacturing but were unlikely to be in agriculture and logging. Negroes had the same pattern with the addition of a heavy representation in construction by non-court cases.

For white court-approved cases the high success rate in logging raised the overall success rate, the low rate for farming lowered the overall rate, and the under-representation in manufacturing cost these inmates the opportunity to benefit fully from the high rate enjoyed by court-approved inmates engaged in manufacturing jobs on work release. The white inmates assigned by correctional authorities were favored by the high success rate in manufacturing and the low rate for logging. However, their small representation in farming denied this category the advantage of the high success of farming. For Negroes the consequences were essentially the same because construction jobs produced an intermediate success level.

For both races the semi-skilled level of work-release job produced the highest success rate for both modes of selection. Because both modes drew about the same proportion of semi-skilled work-release jobs, there was no differential effect on overall rates.

The regions of the State varied greatly in their relative reliance on each of the modes of selection. The Piedmont regions had the largest share of the work-release population and also placed greatest reliance on non-court-recommended cases. This pattern suggests that the special concern of prison authorities for expanding the program in areas most congenial to the approach caused them to depend more heavily on their own resources.

Metropolitan versus non-metropolitan. The concentration of work releasees, however, is even more remarkable than the regional distribution suggests. When the six metropolitan counties are contrasted with the other 96 counties of the State, we find that the cases approved by the correctional authorities alone are especially concentrated in the metropolitan counties. For whites 59.0 per cent were in these counties and only 39.0 per cent of the court-recommended inmates. The urban concentration came mostly from the handling of misdemeanants. Negroes were even more concentrated in the six counties, 84.2 per cent of the non-court-recommended inmates and 52.3 per cent of the cases favored by the sentencing courts. This concentration was especially marked for misdemeanants.

When the mode of assignment is differentiated by the six metropolitan counties versus the other 96 counties in Table 13, significant differences in work release outcome emerge. In the metropolitan counties where the work-release program was expanded with the greatest energy, the correctional authorities were the least effective in selection of cases. In metropolitan counties, the white court-recommended cases surpass the success rate of white non-court work releasees by virtue of lower job terminations, rule violations, and unauthorized absences. But this advantage is more than wiped out by performance in the non-metropolitan counties because the court cases are especially subject to job terminations. For both metropolitan and other counties, the cases approved by correctional authorities alone show superior rates by virtue of lower incidence of both failures and abortive terminations. However, the non-metropolitan counties again make the greatest contribution to the overall advantage of the non-court cases.

The heavier concentration of non-court cases in metropolitan counties is symptomatic of the efforts of correctional authorities to meet the needs of work-release units located in metropolitan counties which provide the labor market congenial to work release. The court recommendations can not be controlled to syphon a reliable supply of qualified work-releasees for the locales generating the greatest demand. Therefore, the central thrust of the efforts of correctional authorities was toward providing inmates for those locales. This necessity provides one of the major justifications for legislation which permits correctional authorities to grant work-release privileges without supporting recommendations by the sentencing judge. This procedure lends a flexibility to administration essential to filtering work release into a proper niche within the labor-force structure of a state.

TABLE 13: OUTCOME ON WORK RELEASE BY METROPOLITAN VERSUS NON METROPOLITAN COUNTIES, MODE OF ASSIGNMENT, AND RACE

Outcome on Work Release By Metropolitan Status of Counties	Mode of Assignment to Work Release			
	White		Negro	
	Court	Non-Court	Court	Non-Court
METROPOLITAN	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS			
Success	62.5	60.5	58.4	65.8
Failure	30.7	32.2	30.6	26.8
Rule violation	(12.1)	(14.6)	(15.0)	(13.4)
Absence	(7.7)	(9.2)	(6.4)	(6.4)
Escape	(10.9)	(8.4)	(9.2)	(7.0)
Aborted	6.8	7.3	11.0	7.4
Job terminated	(4.4)	(5.7)	(6.4)	(4.7)
Other aborted	(2.4)	(1.6)	(4.6)	(2.7)
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NON-METROPOLITAN				
Success	66.9	69.6	67.1	85.7
Failure	20.8	22.2	17.7	10.7
Rule violation	(8.2)	(8.2)	(8.9)	(3.6)
Absence	(6.0)	(5.8)	(6.3)	(3.6)
Escape	(6.6)	(8.2)	(2.5)	(3.6)
Aborted	12.3	8.2	15.2	3.6
Job terminated	(7.9)	(3.9)	(9.5)	(1.8)
Other aborted	(4.4)	(4.3)	(5.7)	(1.8)
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-square value for each race is significant at less than 1 per cent level. For Negroes the cells were collapsed into "success" versus "non-success."

The whites drawn from non-metropolitan counties were especially prone to have received court recommendations, 69.0 per cent compared with only 49.7 per cent of the inmates assigned from metropolitan counties. The concentration of court-approved cases in the non-metropolitan cases is even more remarkable for Negroes, 73.8 per cent as compared to 36.7 per cent of the Negroes assigned from metropolitan counties. The especially dense concentration of non-court-approved Negroes in metropolitan counties points up the particular difficulty of winning court recommendations for minority groups occupying the lower levels of the job structure. As an innovation, work release conflicts with established procedures, institutionalized attitudes, and comfortable habits. The implementation of this innovation is more expeditious when the reform-minded correctional authorities control the decision-making process. The correctional authorities, however, supported this innovation with a degree of caution. Their approvals of Negroes were heavily weighted toward misdemeanants, first offenders, and married men who are less likely to arouse public opposition. This weighting is significant because the court-approved Negroes were skewed strongly toward felons and recidivists.

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SUMMARY

As an aspect of community-based corrections, work release has been tested by our investigation and found to be a most promising strategy. Analysis of the characteristics of inmates placed on the program supports the view that intelligent selection of candidates is both feasible and essential to successful exploitation of this promise. Special attention was given to the importance of assignment of worthy candidates as early as possible in their prison career. Because work release must operate within the labor force structure of its host community, it is essential that the program be tailored to particular qualities of the local economy and its culture. The program is most congenial to an urbanized setting because there must be the quality and quantity of work release jobs available only in a large-scale and varied employment situation. Although the two general modes of selecting were found useful, special emphasis should be placed on assignment to the program by correctional authorities alone if this innovative approach is to have the flexibility in administration essential to unprecedented movement into an unknown sphere of corrections. However, the ultimate test of work release comes when the inmate severs his relations with the correctional institution and returns to the free community. The next chapter takes up this crucial question.

CHAPTER 7: PAROLE OUTCOME AND WORK RELEASE: COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CONSEQUENCES

Parole has much to offer as a community-based strategy to fit the released prisoner into community life. Through shortening time spent in prison, the pains of confinement are eased. His release can be timed to coincide with the point in his prison career most propitious for his compliance with the social rules of the outside community. Although minimization of social costs is the primary objective, the extramural treatment strategy helps reduce the heavy financial costs of operating a worthy prison. The employment of legal sanctions can be individualized to fit the social psychology of the imprisoned offender. Opportunities are provided for him to support his dependents and preserve family and neighborhood ties. The resources of the community can be brought to bear on the personal and social problems crucial to the offender and his future behavior. The objective of protecting the community from further criminality is placed in its proper perspective when parole is utilized to divert the parolee into modes of personal wish gratification not in conflict with the primary interest of the community.

In this sense, parole is a form of rational leniency. A degree of forgiveness is granted the offender after careful study of him and his situation. Leniency is extended under the reasonable expectation that he has the capacity and inclination to modify his future behavior toward conformity with standards of good citizenship. Supervision becomes a challenge to the personality and therapeutic skills of the parole officer in guiding the offender in this direction.

This conception of parole is not held universally. In a second view parole is considered a policing device whereby the parole officer is supposed to give virtually sole emphasis to protect society through persistent surveillance in the constant expectation that the parolee will endanger the community. The parolee is to be deterred through threat of punishment. Ironically, under this view, parole itself has been criticized for helping the criminal escape punishment. Parole officers are familiar with the charge that they turn "dangerous criminals" loose.

A third conception of parole may be called "irrational leniency". Sympathy for the "unfortunate" offender motivates an effort to relieve him of the contamination and stigmatization of imprisonment regardless of his personal potentiality for social conformity. Sentimental regard and humanitarian concern for prisoners is emphasized without serious study of the probability that leniency will result in constructive behavior by the parolee.

IMPLICATIONS OF URBAN EMPHASIS

Latent in parolee behavior are the effects of increased urbanization on the reintegration of offenders into community life. Since community-based corrections place special emphasis on relating the offender to the patterns of community life, changes within the community are particularly germane to both work release and parole.

The previous chapter revealed that work releasees are heavily concentrated in metropolitan areas of North Carolina. This discovery is consistent with the contention that the significance of work release as a rehabilitative strategy rests ultimately on the place it finds for prisoners within the labor force of the community and that the urban areas provide the most favorable labor force setting for this objective. Adjustment of the program to the urban job market is crucial to effective use of the work-release approach.

In an urban setting social and personal problems are less amenable to individual efforts. Public and private agencies have been created to assist in health and marital problems, mental difficulties, child care, legal services, employment, and so on. The functions of these agencies frequently are pertinent to the problems of the offender. Since corrections cannot duplicate all of these functions, many of these agencies should be involved in efforts to bring the convicted offender into the mainstream of community life. The community correctional worker will have to employ referral skills to an unprecedented degree. Referral skills demand knowledge of specialized activities outside corrections per se, capacity to work with allied agencies, and knowledge of when and to whom to refer his client. His training should include knowledge of the dynamics and structure of community life found in urban areas.

Too frequently parole supervision does not recognize that urbanization has brought major changes in typical relationships among men. The human group is less likely to be composed of persons who have lived together for generations under a common tradition. A common sentiment does not bind together the diverse people included within a particular political boundary. However, a complicated social organization enables the urbanite to reach beyond individual achievement by implementing technologies requiring group effort. To do so, he becomes dependent on the organizational forms which relate man and machines. To give order to the conglomerate of such relationships, the individual must accept a place in the social machinery.

Too frequently, parole supervision is conducted as though the officer and parolee are members of a "family." The parolee is cast in the role of the "errant child" who has strayed from the "good" and "pure." The authority of the officer is regarded as derived from the "father" role who has the moral duty to regulate the life of the parolee. Ideally, this regulation is administered in an amiable and benevolent way.

Even if this sentimental supervision ever was appropriate, the urbanization of society has undermined the neighborly bonds which made possible social intimacy among persons who underwent similar socialization of personality under a common culture. The contemporary community has many subcultures based on similarities in occupation, social class, or race. Social groups frequently are too large in number and heterogeneous in membership to permit development of the personal ties experienced by earlier man.

The principle of individualization is widely heralded as essential to effective treatment in correctional institutions and parole supervision. The mobilization of a variety of agency programs raises the danger that individualization will be lost in a bureaucratic maze. The complexity of the urban job market is aggravated by technological changes which make the unskilled and semi-skilled workers particularly vulnerable. The offenders are drawn especially from these skill levels. The fitting of vocationally disadvantaged workers into the job structure calls for a high degree of competence and individualized effort by the correctional worker.

The achievement of individualized treatment depends on the interpretation of unorthodox behavior of parolees. If deviation from the letter of parole rules is interpreted as intransgience, there is the possibility that the parolee's movement toward constructive adjustment will be aborted by official reactions to his floundering behavior at an early stage of his movement. The rules should be employed as means rather than an end in themselves. The difficulties raised by the parolee and the events with which he is associated may be evidence of the genuineness of his effort to cope with the problems behind his previous crimes.

PAROLE AND WORK RELEASE

The issues of parole supervision and communities in general will affect fundamentally the evolution of community-based corrections. Our study is particularly pertinent to the matter of integrating the various present correctional strategies into an overall system of community-based corrections. Integration will require the adjustment of policies and philosophies which have developed to support each strategy as an independent entity. Duties and work patterns of correctional workers will have to be recast in some new division of labor. A high degree of flexibility will be required of the existing agencies and their personnel if the delicate process of integration is to occur.

In the course of developing as separate programs, these strategies have adopted policies and framed procedures which are not necessarily congenial to the integration of the previously independent strategies into the emerging system of community-based corrections. A degree of segmentalism exists whereby identification with a particular strategy has diverted loyality of practitioners to support the interests of their particular agency regardless of the possibly adverse consequences for the ultimate impact of corrections in reducing the incidence of crime.

As a contribution to understanding the complexities of integrating current programs into a system of community-based corrections, this report considers certain aspects of the conjunction of work release and parole. Two general questions are of central concern.

Do work releasees perform differently on parole than those prisoners not exposed to work-release experience? Our chief concern is whether work release is especially useful for preparing the prisoner for parole. Concurrently, the ultimate consequences of work-release experience will be tested against a control group of parolees who were not on the program while in prison.

Did paroled work-releasees show more deviant behavior while under supervision than that found among parolees who had not been on work release while in prison? Critics have contended that work releasees are particularly difficult clients for the parole officer. We propose to test this contention in terms of two conceptions of deviant behavior. First, deviant behavior on parole usually refers to violation of rules imposed by the paroling authorities and the perpetration of new crimes while under supervision. Second, deviant behavior also includes types of nonconformity which are not violations of official rules.

If the "well-adjusted" parolee is expected to complete his period of parole without a crisis, the "problem case" would be the individual who has an unusual number of events requiring the special attention of his supervisor. Then the paroled work-releasee might demonstrate a high degree of deviance in such matters as excessive job or geographical mobility and difficulties in family relationships.

METHODOLOGY

In seeking answers to both central questions, a control group of orthodox parolees was obtained to compare with the experimental group of paroled work-releasees. The sample of orthodox parolees was drawn by obtaining a list of men approved by the North Carolina Board of Paroles during the first six months of 1963, the final year of the period covered by the work-release data.

The parolees were selected arbitrarily as they appeared successively on the approved list prepared by the Board. With a single exception, the names on the list were included in the control group without regard for the age, race, or other attributes of the parolee. The single exception was the elimination of any parolee who had been on the work-release program. This exception was dictated by the necessity to distinguish the control group from the experimental group in terms of work-release experience. Otherwise, the usual policies of the Board of Paroles were the only basis for selection of the control group.

The experimental group consisted of all work-releasees paroled during the period of 1957, when the program was begun, through 1963. Data collection ended with men put on the program in 1963 to provide sufficient time for the bulk of paroled work releasees to complete the period of parole supervision before data collection was completed.

PAROLE OUTCOME IN GENERAL

The comparison of the two categories of parolee will proceed on two levels. At the most general level, the comparison simply is a matter of overall performance on parole. Here we find the two groups do not differ in parole outcome. For whites 29.0 per cent of the work-releasees and 30.8 per cent of the orthodox parolees were returned to prison. For Negroes, the work-releasees were inferior in performance, with 39.9 per cent receiving revocations compared to 30.1 per cent of the control group. Nevertheless, for both races, the differences were insufficient to rule out the possibility of chance.

At a more specific level, comparisons will center attention successfully on a series of parolee characteristics and types of behavior while on parole. The parolee characteristics are pertinent because the differences between the two parole categories in this respect may mask the variation in parole performance per se. By controlling each of the variables in turn, analysis will determine whether the similarity in parole performance at the general level is genuine.

Parole outcome can be interpreted in two ways. First, outcome can be viewed as simply a matter of success (termination) or failure (revocation). However, this gross comparison overlooks the wide range of adjustments included under the word "termination". A parolee may complete the period of supervision without being returned to prison in spite of transgressions deemed insufficient for the heavy penalty of revocation. The Board of Paroles considers the probable consequences of revocation for a transgression. Return to prison aborts the possibility of protecting the community through supervised partial-freedom of the offender and constitutes surrender of the possibility of future success in reintegrating the offender into community life through parole supervision. Perhaps the transgression is counterbalanced by evidence of offender compliance within his limitations. In such cases, the lack of revocation does not signify fully acceptable behavior on parole. These cases have been labeled "marginal terminations".

Among whites the work-releasees surpassed the orthodox parolees in proportion of satisfactory terminations. Marginal terminations were slightly more characteristic of orthodox parolees. Revocation rates were equivalent. Because of a clear superiority in satisfactory terminations, orthodox parolees established the better record among Negroes. However, for both races the differences are not sufficient to eliminate the possibility that they were the product of chance.

At the most general level, the work-releasee performed the same as orthodox parolees, this result is expected because work release in North Carolina does not provide special vocational training or personality treatment programs in preparation for work release. On the other hand, the equivalency of outcome indicates that work-releasees do not constitute a particularly unique problem for parole supervisors under the conditions of work release in North Carolina.

OUTCOME BY CHARACTERISTICS OF PAROLEE

Because this general conclusion may conceal the effects of a number of factors, we turn to more detailed analysis before offering a final assessment.

TABLE 1: PARALE OUTCOME FOR WORK-RELEASE AND ORTHODOX PAROLEES BY RACE

	WHITE		NEGRO	
Outcome on Parole	Work-Release Parolees	Orthodox Parolees	Work-Release Parolees	Orthodox Parolees
	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS			
Terminated	71.0	69.2	60.1	69.9
Satisfactory	(48.1)	(44.1)	(33.3)	(43.8)
Marginal	(22.9)	(25.1)	(26.8)	(26.1)
Revoked	29.0	30.8	39.9	30.1
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of parolees	397	297	138	203
Men still of parole	10	6	11	6

Chi-square value for each of the races is not significant.

Felons versus misdemeanants. Successful completion of work release required that the man be on the program when he left prison either through parole or discharge upon expiration of sentence. Compared to misdemeanants, a felon was more likely to be paroled. Of the successful felon work-releasees, 72.6 per cent of the whites and 64.4 per cent of the Negroes were paroled. Of the successful misdemeanant work-releasees, only 23.0 per cent of the whites and 16.6 per cent of the Negroes were paroled.

Nevertheless, the paroled work-releasees included a higher proportion of misdemeanants among their number than found among parolees who had served the usual prison sentence. Among whites paroled misdemeanants comprised 37.6 per cent of the paroled work-releasees but only 18.8 per cent of the orthodox parolees. For Negroes the respective percentages were 34.5 and 9.5. The inclusion of a greater share of the short-term misdemeanants among paroled work-releasees is reflected in the lower period of penal confinement before parole. For work-release parolees, 58 per cent of both races had been in prison for less than nine months compared with 38 per cent of the white and 20 per cent of the Negro orthodox parolees.

Misdemeanants are less likely to be granted parole for two reasons. First, their period of incarceration frequently is too brief to provide sufficient time for administrative processing of the application for parole. Usually the inmate would prefer to complete a brief sentence and avoid a period of parole supervision longer than the remaining portion of sentence to be served. The two periods of time are not necessarily equivalent in purpose or quality of experience for the offender. Imprisonment is strongly associated with punishment. Parole supervision ideally includes elements of guidance and other services promoting the self-interest of the offender. The prolongation of parole supervision can be justified as a means of providing constructive services to a client who incidentally is an offender. Nevertheless, the general identification of parole with the administration of criminal law contributes to parolee attitudes that parole supervision beyond the expired sentence is "injustice". Because of the affects of these attitudes on parole supervision, authorities prefer to avoid short unexpired sentences.

Because of the factors discussed above paroled work-releasees had served shorter periods of confinement than the work-releasees discharged on completion of sentence. Work-releasees who were paroled had served shorter periods of confinement on the average than work-releasees who were paroled. Half of those discharged had served less than six months, compared to 32 per cent of the paroled work-releasees. The percentages hold for each of the two races.

But, as already shown, paroled work-releasees included a higher proportion of misdemeanants than found among orthodox parolees. The conditions of parole selection reduced the proportion of short-termers who left work release and prison through granting of parole. Nevertheless, the paroling authorities gave support to the work-release strategy by accepting a larger number of short-termers than they would accept from the general prison population.

For misdemeanants of both races orthodox parolees have a lower revocation rate and a higher rate for satisfactory terminations when compared with work-release parolees in Table 2. Because the difference does not pass the test of statistical significance, we conclude that the two classes of misdemeanant parolees do not differ in parole outcome in spite of the heavier reliance on misdemeanants placed on parole from work release. The significance is that white work-release parolees performed remarkably well in spite of a heavier choice of parolees from misdemeanants which parole traditions regard as particularly

TABLE 2: PAROLE OUTCOME BY FELON-MISDEMEANANT STATUS AND RACE FOR TWO CATEGORIES OF PAROLEES

	Work-Release Parolees				Orthodox Parolees			
Felon or Misdemean.	No. of Parolees	Satis.	Margin.	Revoked	No. of Parolees	Satis.	Margin.	Revoked
WHITE				PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS				
Felon	247	51.8	21.1	27.1	225	44.4	24.0	31.6
Misdemeanant	149	41.6	26.2	32.2	52	44.3	26.9	28.8
NEGRO								
Felon	91	35.2	28.5	36.3	182	43.4	25.8	30.8
Misdemeanant	48	29.2	22.9	47.9	19	52.6	21.1	26.3

Chi-square value for each of the races is not significant.

inappropriate candidates for parole. Because of the larger difference between equivalent rates, this conclusion cannot be made for Negro misdemeanants.

The particularly small number of Negro misdemeanants placed on parole probably was associated with special care in selection of orthodox parolees among Negro misdemeanants. The more numerous Negro felons also demonstrated superior performance of orthodox parolees over work-release parolees, but the degree of superiority was less marked than for Negro misdemeanants. The superiority of orthodox parolees among Negro felons indicates that more conservative selection of misdemeanants among orthodox parolees is insufficient as a sole explanation.

When the two categories of parolees are compared according to length of confinement before parole, Negro orthodox parolees are found to be superior in parole outcome to Negro work-release parolees regardless of length of confinement. For whites, the work-release parolees gain superiority over orthodox parolees when the period of confinement exceeds a year. This pattern is consistent with the advantage held by work-release parolees in outcome among white felons. For whites work-release experience shows to greatest advantage for the prisoners serving a longer period of imprisonment. Since orthodox parolees are more heavily selected from long termers, work-release showed to greatest advantage among the type of white parolees most favored by paroling authorities.

Since Negro orthodox parolees had performance superior to work-release parolees in all lengths of confinement, factors are operating in addition to more conservative selection of misdemeanants among Negro orthodox parolees. Work-release experience may have less affect among Negroes. Another possibility is that selective factors are present among whites and not Negroes. The answer awaits further analysis.

Recidivism. The recurrence of imprisonment frequently is considered evidence of the failure of an individual to respond positively to previous attempts to halt his criminal behavior. Certainly previous incarceration should be considered in attempting to predict his behavior. But does the distinction between the first offender and the recidivist operate as a conclusive determinant?

The commonly-held conception of "the recidivist" associates him with a criminal career which unfolds consistently, continously, and progressively along a range from law-abiding behavior toward strong commitment to criminality. Examination of the careers of federal prisoners has challenged this conception. Glaser found that at least 90 per cent of the imprisoned offenders fluctuated between legitimate and criminal means of pursuing personal life goals. Some men terminate their offenses early in a cycle of crime to non-crime to crime. For others, termination comes late in life. Still others never terminate.[1]

Persistence in criminal behavior is associated with the aging process, but the relationship operates in a more complex way than mere change in chronological age. Chronological age is related to physical development and senescence which, in turn, are related to changes in a person's status within a social universe. Stresses stimulated by these changes test his ability to adjust to new kinds of relationships with other persons. Subsequent convictions for crimes rests on likelihood that the individual will attempt crimes and on his inability to avoid detection for these offenses. Generally, the more aggressive crimes and crimes against property are committed by the younger offenders, while the more sophisticated crimes and crimes of dissipation are characteristic of the older persons.

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[1] Daniel Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1964, pp. 466.

With increased sophistication of crime with advancing age, detection is made more difficult. The pressures toward crime affecting youth are lessened when advancing age reduces the discrepancy between social and economic needs and the means available for their gratification. When this discrepancy is not reduced, criminal behavior is more possible. Then persistent criminality is a joint product of the stresses impinging on the individual and his failure to readjust himself to these stresses through behavior defined as noncriminal.

Both work release and parole are pertinent to recidivism. As correctional strategies they may reduce the discrepancy between social and economic means and the legitimate means available to the offender for their gratification. The means for gratification would be enhanced through more effective integration of the offender into the labor force of the community and through guidance in bringing the resources of his personality to bear more effectively on his personal problems. The strategies are successful to the extent the community does accept the former transgressor into the sphere of social and economic opportunities accorded the full-fledged member of the community. Furthermore, the former transgressor must have the willingness and capacity to respond constructively to this spirit of acceptance when it is extended to him.

In selecting among work-releasees, paroling authorities favored first offenders. Among the work releasees discharged from prison on completion of sentence, only 34 per cent of the whites and 31 per cent of the Negroes were serving their first prison sentence. For work-releasee parolees, 64 per cent of the whites and 53 per cent of the Negroes were first offenders. For whites the paroled work-releasees included a heavier proportion of first offenders than the 60 per cent of orthodox parolees. However, for Negroes the paroled work-releasees had a lower proportion than the 59 per cent share of orthodox parolees who had been in an adult prison for the first time.

The relative emphasis on first offenders contributed to the better performance of white than Negro paroled work-releasees when compared with equivalent orthodox parolees.

Did work-release experience enhance the probability that the recidivist would respond constructively to parole? Table 3 demonstrates that white work releasees performed more effectively than white orthodox parolees for first offenders and especially moderate recidivists. For hard-core recidivists the orthodox parolees were more effective. Negro orthodox parolees were superior in all categories of recidivism, but the difference was insufficient to rule out the possibility of chance.

TABLE 3: PAROLE OUTCOME BY DEGREE OF RECIDIVISM AND RACE FOR TWO CATEGORIES OF PAROLEES

	Work-Release Parolees				Orthodox Parolees			
	Number of	Terminated			Number of	Terminated		
Recidivism	Parolees	Satis.	Marg.	Rev.	Parolees	Satis.	Marg.	Rev.
WHITE								
First Offender	254	52.7	22.9	24.4	166	47.6	28.3	24.1
Moderate Recidivist	110	43.7	21.8	34.5	83	39.8	15.6	44.6
Hard-core Recidivist	32	25.0	28.1	46.9	29	37.9	34.5	27.6
NEGRO								
First Offender	76	38.1	29.0	32.9	119	47.9	27.7	24.4
Moderate Recidivist	45	26.6	26.7	46.7	58	36.2	19.0	44.8
Hard-core Recidivist	22	27.3	27.3	45.4	26	42.3	34.6	23.1

Chi-square value for whites is significant at less than the one per cent level but not significant for Negroes.

For both races and categories of parolees, first offenders performed more effectively than recidivists. Negro orthodox parolees had a slightly lower revocation rate among hard-core recidivists than first offenders, but the superiority of the hard-core recidivists came from marginal terminations to indicate that their advantage over first offenders is rather uncertain.

If selection of work-releasees for parole had concentrated exclusively on first offenders, the work-release parolees of both races would have outstripped the orthodox parolees. However, this highly speculative statement ignores the significance of the performance of white moderate recidivists among the work-release parolees. Let us assume that first offenders are more likely to be accepted within by the community and more likely to have characteristics tending them toward seeking such acceptance, then work-release experience is more severely tested in working with recidivists who lack such advantages. The superior performance of white work-release parolees suggests a benefit for work-release experience in enhancing the probability of effective parole performance.

Marital status. Advocates of work release especially recommend the correctional strategy for preserving family ties during the period of incarceration. If work-release serves

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this purpose, married inmates should score a higher level of performance on parole than single men or men with broken marriages. Married work-release parolees of both races were more effective than either single men or men with broken marriages. For whites, the revocation rates were 25.1 per cent for married men, 32.2 per cent for single men, and 40.6 per cent for men with broken marriages. The equivalent percentages for Negro work-release parolees were 35.6, 47.9, and 53.8 respectively.

The emphasis on married men is suggested by differences between the two categories of parolees. Married men composed 66.7 per cent of the white and 54.5 per cent of the Negro work-releasee, compared to 35 per cent of the orthodox parolees of each race. The selection of parolees from the work-release population favored married men to a greater extent among whites than Negroes. For work releasees discharged from prison on expiration of sentence, 52 per cent of the whites and 56 per cent of the Negroes were married. Perhaps a greater emphasis on married Negroes would have improved the parole performance of Negro work-release parolees.

Married white work-releasees outperformed married white orthodox parolees by virtue of a higher rate for marginal

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termination. The rates for satisfactory terminations were similar. The questionable nature of their higher success rate indicates that the work-release experience was associated with a rather uncertain improvement in capacity to handle problems of the family man in a time of readjustment after a stint in prison. Married Negro work-releasees had a slightly higher revocation rate and marginal termination rate than married Negro orthodox parolees. They fell short in satisfactory terminations. However, in light of the usual pattern of superior performance by orthodox parolees among Negroes, the married Negro work-releasees compare well in quality of parole outcome.

Age at time of parole. For several reasons age at time of parole would affect the pertinence of work-release experience to parole outcome. Youth may be associated with recklessness and instability in behavior which is not conducive to full exploitation of the benefits of the experience. To the extent that job skill improves probability of effective use of work-release employment as a bridge to economic stability while on parole, the offender must be older in the sense of having had time to develop work competence. If work release reduces the impact of prisonization of inmate attitudes toward

TABLE 4: PAROLE OUTCOME BY MARITAL STATUS AND RACE FOR TWO CATEGORIES OF PAROLEES

	Work-Release Parolees				Orthodox Parolees			
Marital Status	Number of Parolees	Satis.	Marg.	Rev.	Number of Parolees	Satis.	Marg.	Rev.
WHITE								
Single	90	42.2	25.6	32.2	130	47.0	28.4	24.6
Married	255	54.5	20.4	25.1	87	55.1	12.7	32.2
Broken Marriage	37	32.4	27.0	40.6	31	25.8	35.5	38.7
NEGRO								
Single	48	39.2	22.9	47.9	94	47.9	27.6	24.5
Married	73	38.4	26.0	35.6	62	54.8	12.9	32.3
Broken Marriage	13	23.1	23.1	53.8	22	22.7	45.5	31.8

Chi-square value for whites is significant at less than the one per cent level. For Negroes the value is significant at less than the two per cent level.

confirmed criminality, the program should focus on prisoners serving longer prison sentences. Time spent in prison would contribute to raising of average age at time of parole.

Age is a variable worthy of consideration because work-releasee parolees were significantly older at time of parole than orthodox parolees. Of the orthodox parolees, 45.1 per cent of the whites and 58.1 per cent of the Negroes were less than 25 years of age. Of the work releasee, only 28.1 per cent of the whites and 24.5 per cent of the Negroes were less than 25 years. For both races work-releasees exceeded orthodox parolees in parole performance in the older ages. The advantage was found for all age groups beyond 24 years for whites and for all age groups beyond 34 for Negroes.

Summary. As a whole white work-releasees performed on parole at about the same level as parolees drawn from the rest of the prisoners. For Negroes, orthodox parolees drew away to a modest advantage. However, for both races, the difference in parole outcome was insufficient to rule out the possibility of chance.

When characteristics of white parolees were examined, work-releasees of certain kinds exceeded similar orthodox parolees in outcome. For felons, work-releasees gained a

TABLE 5: PAROLE OUTCOME BY AGE AT TIME OF PAROLE AND RACE FOR TWO CATEGORIES OF PAROLEES

	Work-Release Parolees				Orthodox Parolees			
Age at Parole	Number of Parolees	Satis.	Marg.	Rev.	Number of Parolees	Satis.	Marg.	Rev.
WHITE			PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS					
Less 20	22	40.9	13.6	45.5	33	51.5	21.2	27.3
20 - 24	90	42.2	27.8	30.0	93	47.3	32.2	20.4
25 - 29	90	52.2	26.7	21.1	35	51.4	20.0	28.6
30 - 34	64	51.6	20.3	28.1	34	38.2	20.6	41.2
35 - 39	61	44.3	13.1	42.6	30	43.3	13.3	43.3
40 - over	72	51.4	25.0	23.6	54	33.3	27.8	38.9
NEGRO								
Less 20	2	--	--	100.0	19	52.6	21.1	26.3
20 - 24	32	28.2	31.2	40.6	69	47.8	33.3	18.9
25 - 29	35	25.7	28.6	45.7	30	46.7	23.3	30.0
30 - 34	28	35.7	17.9	46.4	23	39.1	26.1	34.8
35 - 39	15	46.7	26.7	26.7	22	40.9	9.1	50.0
40 - over	27	40.7	29.6	29.6	40	35.0	27.5	37.5

Chi-square values for each of the races were significant at less than the one per cent level.

modest advantage, but they were only slightly inferior to orthodox parolees when misdemeanants are compared. Furthermore, the work-releasees had the advantage only for those men who served longer periods of penal confinement before parole. This development challenges the contention that work-release is a strategy particularly appropriate for short-term prisoner. North Carolina's experiment with extension of the privilege to felons is justified. However, the white misdemeanants performed well when one considers that they were selected to a greater degree among paroled work-releasees than orthodox parolees. Usually, greater number of parolees of a particular variety increases the risk of failure, and paroling authorities are reluctant to parole misdemeanants.

The white work-releasees were particularly successful among moderate recidivists and slightly more successful among first offenders. The advantage among white moderate recidivists indicates the work-release strategy is particularly useful in promoting effective parole performance among offenders who lack the favorable prognosis accorded first offenders. Married work-releasees outperformed married orthodox parolees to lend some support to the view that work release is a particularly appropriate strategy for family men. The older work-releasees were more likely to demonstrate the advantage of work release as a preparation for parole.

Even when these various characteristics were examined, Negro work release generally failed to show to advantage as a preparation for parole. The general equivalency of the two kinds of parolees probably reflects the handicap work-release faces as a correctional strategy in countering the affects of the low status ascribed to Negroes in society in general. Important facets of this status ascription are variables involving employment, the next topic for analysis.

EMPLOYMENT ON PAROLE

Does the paroled work-releasee demonstrate greater effectiveness in the job sphere than the parolee who was not on work release while in prison? Advocates of work release imply that the strategy has a special benefit through its superior potential for plugging the prisoner into the job market before he leaves prison. Furthermore, work-release experience is supposed to improve chances that employers will judge him as a worthy parolee for a job with them. He would gain more favorable consideration by the gate-keepers to the spheres of economic opportunity.

Work-releasees differ among themselves in job skill and access to particular industrial categories of job. It is possible that such categories of paroled work-releasees will differ in parole outcome. The comparison of work-releasees and orthodox parolees as a whole may conceal the superior parole performance of work-releasees who are more appropriate examples of the advantages of work release as a correctional strategy.

Pertinence of employment. Upon release from prison, the immediate problem of most former prisoners is economic survival in a society which places a high premium on income to acquire resources for physical needs and as a badge of personal worth. The released prisoner may have some savings. Usually prisons provide "gate money", a cash gratuity intended to ease immediate financial needs. However, gate money usually is insufficient for the man's requirements. Material assistance by private and public agencies may supplement his resources. Family and friends also may provide support in this difficult transitional period.

However, financial assistance frequently puts the man in the status of a dependent who does not return services for the help he is accorded. This status encourages psychological dependence and undermines the ultimate purpose of transforming the former prisoner into a self-responsible member of the community's social and economic systems.

The acquisition of a satisfactory job is the key to both his economic and social survival as a self-respecting and responsible person. Although economic survival is of paramount importance immediately on release, ultimately the psychological and sociological aspects assume even greater significance. As a former transgressor, he faces stigmatization as a barrier to success in his job search. Probably, his previous encounters with the problems of job search and his own failures in coping with personal problems have given him a defeatist attitude sapping his initiative and drive. Rebuffs to the former prisoner further erode his self-confidence and self-image in confronting the special difficulties of the person who has been removed from the stream of community life under conditions which threaten his acceptability by others as a full-fledged participant.

As a correctional strategy, parole can provide a means of mobilizing the resources of the former prisoner and the resources of the community to overcome the difficulties of the early period of release. The parole supervisor can serve as a counselor in guiding the man toward utilizing his own psychological resources to bear more directly on the issues and problem events most germane to the particular former prisoner. The supervisor can serve as an agent of intervention between his client and the service agencies of the community which have personnel and resources potentially useful to the client. Usually the released prisoner lacks knowledge of the ways of programs and even the existence of programs which are of potential value to him. He requires guidance in recognizing his need for services and gaining entry into the network of services. His incarceration in an authoritarian prison is likely to have contributed to dependency attitudes which make him a poor candidate for independent action in acquiring information and undertaking solutions to his personal problems.

Did work release affect the nature of the parolee's entry into the job market. Out data provide two kinds of evidence: the type of industry and the level of skill for the jobs provided for each of the two categories of parolees. In both respects the two kinds of parolees differed markedly from one another.

Type of industry. Paroled work-releasees differed from orthodox parolees in the kinds of industries for parole employment. For whites the paroled work-releasees were more likely to work in construction, manufacturing, and transportation whereas orthodox parolees exceeded work-releasees in proportion of their numbers in the other industrial groups, especially farming.

Work-release had much different results for Negroes. It was the orthodox parolees who were more heavily represented in construction and, especially, manufacturing. The heavy assignment of Negro work-releasees to trade-and-service jobs accounted for the bulk of the void left by the lower proportion in construction and manufacturing. Compared with whites, farming was particularly important to Negroes regardless of kind of parolee.

White work-releasees exceeded orthodox parolees in parole performance in construction and transportation jobs. In manufacturing, the third industry in which they were especially concentrated, the work-releasees were slightly inferior in parole outcome. Although few work-releasees obtained jobs in farming or logging, they recorded a higher proportion of satisfactory terminations than orthodox parolees. For logging,

TABLE 6 : PAROLE OUTCOME BY SKILL OF PAROLE JOB AND RACE FOR TWO CATEGORIES OF PAROLEES

Industry of Parole Job	Work-Release Parolees Number of Parolees	Terminated Satis.	Marq.	Rev.	Orthodox Parolees Number of Parolees	Terminated Satis.	Marq.	Rev.
WHITE								
			PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS					
Construc.	117	43.6	23.1	33.3	65	37.0	26.1	36.9
Manufact.	120	46.7	27.5	25.8	64	51.6	25.0	23.4
Transport.	64	53.1	23.4	23.4	27	40.8	29.6	29.6
Farming	20	65.0	20.0	15.0	54	42.6	24.1	33.3
Log-forest.	12	50.0	25.0	25.0	13	30.7	53.9	15.4
Trade-serv.	31	51.6	19.4	29.0	21	71.4	23.8	4.8
White collar	19	57.9	10.5	31.6	15	73.3	13.3	13.3
NEGRO								
Construc.	32	31.2	34.4	34.4	52	30.8	28.8	40.4
Manufact.	18	38.9	16.7	44.4	49	57.2	26.5	16.3
Transport.	20	30.0	25.0	45.0	19	31.6	36.8	31.6
Farming	20	50.0	25.0	25.0	32	43.7	21.9	34.4
Log-forest.	7	28.6	14.3	57.1	9	33.3	55.6	11.1
Trade-serv.	34	23.5	26.5	50.0	15	66.7	26.7	6.6
White collar	2	50.0	50.0	--	8	37.5	25.0	25.0

a high proportion of marginal terminations among orthodox parolees more than counterbalanced the advantage. Orthodox parolees were especially successful in trade-and-service occupations.

Negro work-releasees had parole performance inferior to orthodox parolees in every industry except construction, farming, and white-collar jobs. The small number of white-collar jobs for Negroes eroded the significance of the last advantage. Since farming offered relatively inferior job opportunities, construction remained the only industry of significance in providing and advantage for work-release experience among Negroes.

Skill of parole job. In evaluating the relationship of level of parole job skill and parole outcome, one must recognize that our definition of skilled and semi-skilled jobs falls well below what would be considered appropriate in a study of the job structure of the community as a whole. Earlier in this report, we pointed out that work release draws heavily on the lower paid jobs in the community. The same comment can be made of jobs usually provided for parolees under the circumstances found in North Carolina. The superior parole job level of work-release parolees over orthodox parolees is evidence.

The paroled work-releasees differed from the work-releasees discharged from prison on completion of sentence in the level of skill for the job held on work release. The paroled work-releasees had a smaller proportion at the unskilled and skilled levels. Compared with discharged work-releasees, they were more concentrated at the semiskilled level, but this advantage was eroded to some extent by their smaller proportion of men with skilled work-release jobs.

Since the orthodox parolees did not hold a work-release job, we must compare them with work-release parolees in terms of skill of parole job. According to this measurement, paroled work-releasees of both races had higher proportions at both the skilled and semi-skilled levels of skill. In other words, work-releasees exceeded orthodox parolees in gaining access to more favorable parole employment.

When skill of work-release job is compared with skill of parole job for paroled work-releasees, we find parole jobs having the higher degree of concentration at the skilled and semi-skilled levels. These parolees were more successful in gaining favorable jobs on parole than they had when on work release. Apparently, the work-release program offers inferior job opportunity while the man was in prison compared to the level opportunity he can gain as a free person. Nevertheless,

TABLE 7: PAROLE OUTCOME BY SKILL OF PAROLE JOB AND RACE FOR TWO CATEGORIES OF PAROLEES

	Work-Release Parolees				Orthodox Parolees			
Level of Skill of Parole Job	Number of Parolees	Satis	Marq	Rev	Number of Parolees	Satis	Marq	Rev
WHITE								
			PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS					
Skilled	59	67.8	18.6	13.6	16	62.4	18.8	18.8
Semi-skilled	198	48.5	24.2	27.3	56	57.1	25.0	17.9
Unskilled	98	37.8	25.5	36.7	180	40.0	27.2	32.8
Totals	355	48.7	23.7	27.6	252	45.2	26.2	28.6
NEGRO								
Skilled	8	37.5	37.5	25.0	14	64.3	21.4	14.3
Semi-skilled	30	63.3	16.7	20.0	43	55.8	30.2	14.0
Unskilled	65	30.8	44.6	24.6	127	38.6	27.6	33.8
Totals	103	40.8	35.9	23.3	184	44.6	27.7	27.7

paroled work-releasees were more successful than paroled orthodox parolees in level of job skill acquired on parole.

For whites only the skilled work-releasees scored a higher rate of success on parole than orthodox parolees. For Negroes only the semi-skilled level gave the advantage to work-releasees, and even here the advantage was cancelled by an inferior rate for marginal terminations. For unskilled job the orthodox were successful on more occasions.

Quality of work record. The two types of parolees did not differ essentially in the quality of their work performance as judged by their supervisors. In coding the schedules summarizing data drawn from supervisory reports, the research assistants ranked the parolees according to "excellent" (specific statements of praise of work performance), "satisfactory" (neutral statements or absence of adverse assessment), or "poor" (adverse statements on work performance). The orthodox parolees exhibited slightly superior quality of work performance, but the difference is too small for a reliable conclusion. We believe the performance was essentially the same.

As one would expect, outcome of the case was increasingly more favorable on the average as the quality of work record improved. Excellent work records were particularly concentrated among satisfactory outcomes. Conversely, poor work records were strongly associated with revocations.

At both excellent and satisfactory levels of work record, work-releasees of both races exceeded orthodox parolees in proportion of men achieving satisfactory terminations and in lower proportion of men receiving revocation. However, the only real difference in outcome between the parolee categories was for those receiving satisfactory work ratings. The two types of parolees were about the same in parole outcome for men with poor work records. In summary, the white work-releasees with satisfactory work ratings were the only group which scored a meaningful advantage over orthodox parolees in parole outcome.

Did income increase on parole? Work-release parolees had the inferior record in proportion to their numbers who were awarded an increase in pay while on parole. For whites, 28.2 per cent of the work-releasees and 38.7 per cent of the orthodox parolees increased their income. For Negroes, 18.1 per cent of the work-releasees and 39.2 per cent of the orthodox parolees were successful in this regard.

However, for whites the work releasees with skilled jobs on parole approached orthodox parolees with skilled jobs in gaining pay increases (54.2 per cent and 58.3 per cent respectively). At the semi-skilled and unskilled levels, the orthodox parolees had clearcut advantages. For Negroes the orthodox parolees had the edge for all levels of job skill. To summarize, only the whites with skilled jobs on parole were able to come close to orthodox parolees in proportion of parolees earning a pay increase.

For both kinds of parolees and races, men with pay increases had superior outcome over those without increases. Men receiving pay increases exceeded those without pay increases in proportion of cases resulting in satisfactory terminations, and, conversely, in having a lower proportion receiving revocations. When the two kinds of parolees are compared in terms of these relationships, there is no essential difference among whites. However, among Negroes, the orthodox parolees were superior in the degree to which higher pay was associated with more favorable outcome of the case.

More effective exploitation of geographical mobility was involved in the differential success in gaining pay raises. The probability of pay increases rose when the parole changed his home and/or city of residence. For whites, the work-releasees were markedly less successful than orthodox parolees when the non-mobile parolees are compared. But when only the parolees who changed homes are compared, the work-releasees gain the advantage, especially for those men who changed their homes at least twice. However, for movement between cities, the orthodox parolees regain the advantage they had lost for men who moved to a different community only once. It appears that up to a point, work release gives a special advantage to the parolee in gaining job security. However, mobility in itself can reflect a random restlessness unrelated to a systematic quest for improved opportunity. This systematic quest requires that the work-release experience be interrelated with parolee attitudes suggesting personal stability and a job opportunity for which the personal stability and a job opportunity for which the work-release experience was relevant.

Because orthodox parolees were more successful in gaining pay increases regardless of the number of housing changes, Negroes apparently did not derive special advantages from work-release over orthodox prisoners which could be translated into superior economic gains while on parole.

Summary. For all of these indices related to employment, the work-release experience provided benefits for superior parole performance when the parole job was at a level of skill promising reasonable economic opportunities. Advocates of work release assume this promise is inherent in the strategy. However, the assumption is insufficient when the work-release program is not associated with a prison program of vocational training to upgrade the job competence of the bulk of the prisoners who enter prison with a history of chronic underemployment and low level of job qualifications.

PROBLEMS WHILE ON PAROLE

Does the work-release experience contribute to the incidence of problems raised during parole supervision? Two sets of causal factors may operate if work-releasees are either particularly problem prone or have personalities on the average which make them particularly difficult to supervise.

First, two successive processes of selection may make parolees drawn from work release different than parolees not drawn from work release. These processes involve the choice from prisoners of men to be placed on work release and the choice of work releasees for parole. The consequence would be that work releasees would have particular characteristics which make them more prone to difficulties while on parole. They may differ from other parolees in age, marital status,

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recidivism, and other attributes. Because differences in these attributes distinguish probability of difficulties on parole, the issue would not involve the work-release experience directly.

Second, the work-release experience itself may raise the work-releasee's expectations concerning the experiences he will have on parole. Skolnick has hypothesized that, when the parolee has high expectations that his personal wishes will be gratified on parole, he is more likely to display resentment when the realities of parole experiences prove these expectations to be unfounded.[2] On the other hand, when the new parolee has extremely low expectations, he is likely to be apathetic in conforming to parole rules without a genuine revision of his basic attitudes. It may be that, in raising the expectations of work-releasees, the correctional strategy enhances the probability that a man on parole will cope more actively with the problems incidental to genuine reduction of the discrepancies which have restricted the effectiveness of his previous behavior in solving his personal problems.

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[2] Jerome H. Skolnick, "Toward Developmental Theory of Parole," American Sociological Review, 25 (August 1960), pp. 542-549.

Although resentment from frustrated expectations may stimulate parole transgression, we feel a broader spectrum of possibilities is present. In the course of a more active coping with his personal problems, the work-release parolee may generate more unorthodox events while under supervision. The resolution of these difficulties would be consistent with the ultimate purpose of parole from a rehabilitation perspective. However, more work would be generated for the parole supervisor. In this sense, the work-release parolee would be more problem-prone and a more "difficult" case for his supervisor.

Compliance and rehabilitation. Do the behavioral standards promulgated by correctional authorities differentiate between persistent change in offender's attitudes toward a new commitment to the community's values, on one hand, and a merely external compliance for sake of immediate rewards without genuine change in offender's attitudes, on the other hand?

When the first offender is viewed as particularly amenable to the rehabilitative purposes work release and parole are supposed to attain, it is assumed that he identifies himself with the community values the correctional programs are supposed to support. However, first conviction and/or first imprisonment do not necessarily indicate inexperience in criminal ways. Furthermore, even if he is not committed to criminal cultures, the first offender may have personality patterns which resist the direction of behavioral change proposed by correctional workers.

The spirit and mode of implementing official rules are not necessarily consistent with genuine rehabilitation. Compliance may be more a matter of external appearance of not creating "problems" for administrators in the short run and less a matter of progress in the direction of the ultimate psychological state appropriate for genuine rehabilitation. Etzioni has pointed out that compliance implies a structural and motivational relationship linking a personality system with a social system. "Compliance refers both to a relation with which an actor behaves in accordance with a directive supported by another actor's power and to the orientation of the subordinated actor to the power applied."[3]

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[3] Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations, New York: Free Press, 1963, pp.3.

The coercive power of the correctional agency is less essential to gaining of the objectives of the agency when the offender already has integrated within his own personality the values associated with those objectives. Because of his identification with those values, the exertion of coercive power is less necessary to accomplishment of agency goals. Conversely, the power structure of the agency must be exerted to the utmost when the psychology of the offender is least congenial to attainment of the agency's goals. Ironically, coercive power is most effective when it is least required. Then the first offender appears to an attractive prospect for parole because he requires less imposition of the parole supervisor's authority by virtue of the overgeneralized assumption that he already identifies with the values the agency is supposed to inculcate.

The programming of treatment strategies includes the routinization of procedures for the sake of "economy" and "efficiency" of effort. One cost of routinization is the erosion of individualized relationships between the correctional worker and each of his clients. Externalized compliance is likely to be mistaken for internalized modification of attitudes and values. Then the client is rewarded for knowledge of the standardized customs which develop in a particular phase of correctional programming. A distinction emerges between the compliant client and the client undergoing the attitudinal changes essential to genuine success in treatment. The two may be identical but not necessarily.

In Etzioni's terms, the client may comply in external appearance with the formal requirements of his superiors because he recognizes their power in the social system in which he has been compelled to participate. However, his orientation to the power is in terms of avoidance of immediate penalties and of manipulation of circumstances to attain the purposes he had before becoming a participant. Amenability is not associated with psychological movement in the direction sought in the name of rehabilitation.

Another set of possibilities involve the orientation of the official wielders of power in this social system. Although expressing support for the ultimate goal of fundamental attitudinal change in the client, the paroling authorities and their agents may seek the brand of amenability which produces the minimum amount of work effort and public visibility of their work performance. The quiet client is preferred over the client creating unexpected events in the course of his active coping with the latent psychological and sociological roots of his previous deviance. Then external compliance would be preferred to experimentation of the client with new modes of adjustment within his social universe when the latter creates a series of unexpected events. Under these circumstances, the correctional agency does not correlate compliance with achievement of the ultimate rehabilitative purpose of corrections.

The first offender may be unqualified as a quiet and compliant candidate because he is unsocialized in the ways of the agency. Because of previous experience with correctional authorities, the recidivist may be more knowledgable and skillful in manipulation of relationships with the power-wielders. Merely external compliance makes the recidivist a more satisfactory client. Meanwhile, the client undergoing attitudinal change, whether first offender or recidivist, is less satisfactory.

Mobility among parolees. Spacial mobility is becoming increasingly characteristic of the American people. First, migration is one of the means by which the individual attempts to find a better adjustment in the social and economic order.

Second, on a regional or national scale, the movement of populations is a means of correcting the imbalance between population and natural resources. Third, mobility is of special interest to the social scientist because of the matter of differential selection distinguishing migrants from non-migrants.

In reference to our particular interest in parolees, we recognize that movement to a new house or to a new city can be interpreted as a constructive effort of the former offender to find an improved mode of adjusting himself to the social and economic order. Successful adjustment implies the individual has been able to find a fit between his personal needs and the social order the criminal law is supposed to maintain. When the parolee changes his residence, the parole supervisor has certain additional tasks. The move must be investigated and approved. Perhaps the case has to be transferred to another supervisor. At least, the routines of supervision are upset. "Waves" are created which make for expenditure of additional effort by the correctional worker. But movement is space may reflect psychological movement in terms of the parolee's attitudinal stance toward his social context. The "waves" are indicators of the parolee's search for a more effective place in the community.

When geographical mobility reflects constructive effort toward readjustment, the additional supervisory work should be defined as a proper phase of the vocation. When mobility expresses the parolee's personal disorganization and persistence of personality patterns which earlier produced criminal behavior, supervision becomes involved in the negative sense of "problems."

Migration of the parolee has only restricted relevance to the matter of correcting imbalance between population and natural resources. Parole rules limit the possibility of extensive use of migration for this purpose because each change of residence requires formal approval. Inter-state migration of parolees requires an even more cumbersome process of formal approval because other paroling agencies are involved. Essentially intra-state migration is the major possibility. In Chapter 7 the implications of regional variations within North Carolina were explored. Because locale of sentencing court is not sufficiently relevant to analysis of parolees, we can not undertake such analysis here. However, parole certainly can be a tool for relocating parolees within the State so that former offenders can be situated in socio-economic areas more supportive of their efforts to earn a decent living. Parole usually is not considered in this regard. If it is used for this purpose, work release can be a means of qualifying the prison inmate for vocations required in those areas offering greater economic opportunity. Then parole becomes a strategy for resettlement.

The differential selection of migrants is pertinent to this study of parolees because only a portion of them change their residence. Are the migrants different than the nonmigrants in tendencies toward social conformity? Does the work-release experience affect the likelihood of geographical mobility and the relationship between mobility and misconduct?

Geographical mobility is studied here in terms of intercommunity change of residence and change of house. Intercommunity mobility is usually of greater distance and, presumably, involves frequently a greater degree of motivation because of the greater impact on life routines. Change of house has less impact because usually shorter distance and continuation of local social patterns are involved.

RULE VIOLATIONS AND NEW CRIMES

Did paroled work-releasees show more deviant behavior while under supervision than that found among parolees who had not been on work release while in prison? In answering, our report will consider "deviant behavior" according to two definitions.

First, "deviant behavior" will be defined as transgressions of parole regulations. Deviant behavior here is considered to nonconformity which comes to the attention of officials and is evaluated as sufficiently serious to merit official reaction. In some instances, the reaction is to exact the supreme penalty of returning the man to prison. This definition of deviant behavior is equivalent to the operation of criminal law within the social control system of society as a whole. This section of the chapter examines violations of formally promulgated parole rules and the perpetration of new crimes by the parolees. Furthermore, this section examines the imposition of revocations of parole as an official response to some of these violations and crimes.

Second, "deviant behavior" may encompass a broader range of non-conformity to capture all acts which differ from expectations. The parolee may be involved in unorthodox events without transgressing the official rules. These events may be consequences of the parolee's efforts to cope with his personal problems or to improve his economic chances. He is not a "quiet" client because he is participating actively in

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the processes of revising his previous status. On the other hand, these events may be symptomtic of his ineligibility as a candidate for rehabilitative programs, then his non-conformity signals probability of future transgressions in keeping with the first definition of "deviant behavior." The next section of this chapter will measure this ambivalent variety of deviance in terms of job changes, intercommunity migration, housing changes, and problems of family life.

Offenses on parole. The supervision reports were screened to obtain evidence of officially-recognized transgressions of the parolee regardless of whether the transgression resulted in revocation. A transgression did not necessarily culminate in revocation. Officially-recognized transgressions were either new crimes perpetrated while on parole or violations of parole rules. New crimes were categorized as crimes against persons, crimes against property, or offenses involving liquor or automobiles. Parole rule violations were differentiated into three groups. Supervision violations included leaving county without permission, failure to submit monthly reports, and changing residence or job without permission. Evasion of responsibility included failure to meet financial obligation and to maintain

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employment. Undesirable recreation involved unwholesome companions, presence in unwholesome recreational locales, and drinking.

The relationship between work-release experience and transgressions on parole operates differently for each of the two races. Among whites the experience apparently reduced slightly the probability of transgressions and when transgressions occurred they were usually of less serious nature. For Negroes work-release experience tended to be associated with greater transgressions in both quantity and quality.

White work-releasees were slightly more likely than white unorthodox parolees to avoid transgression; 49.7 per cent and 47.1 per cent, respectively, were without transgressions. The greater proclivity for new crimes accounted for the higher proportion of transgressors among orthodox parolees because the two groups had the same proportion of rule violators. Furthermore, the new crimes of orthodox parolees were of more serious nature. Two-thirds of the new crimes of work releasees involved the relatively minor traffic and liquor offenses compared with a third of the new crimes committed by the orthodox parolees. Among the rule violations, work-releasees had a slightly greater tendency toward recreational difficulties and were slightly less prone to supervision violations.

Negro work-releasees were more prone to transgression than Negro orthodox parolees; only 33.3 per cent avoided transgressions compared to 47.0 per cent of the usual parolees. The inferior performance stemmed largely from a higher incidence of new crimes although Negro work-releasees also had a slightly higher tendency toward rule violations. The new crimes against persons -- 59.6 per cent of their new crimes compared with only 37.5 per cent for Negro orthodox parolees. The latter work-releasees were especially prone to recreational difficulties while Negro orthodox parolees were slightly more likely to engage in supervision failures.

The greater seriousness of new crimes perpetrated by white orthodox parolees is reflected in the higher proportion of their crimes culminating in parole revocations when compared with white work-releasees. The two types of Negro parolees did not differ to any real degree in this regard.

Rule violations of work-releasees were more likely to result in revocation than for rule violations of orthodox parolees. Because the relative importance of revocations for recreational infractions were about the same for the two kinds of parolees, the higher revocation rate for work-releasees is attributable to the heavier penalization of work releasees for

TABLE 8: PAROLE OUTCOME BY TRANSGRESSIONS WHILE UNDER SUPERVISION AND RACE FOR TWO CATEGORIES OF PAROLEES

	Work-Release Parolees				Orthodox Parolees			
	Number	Terminated			Number	Terminated		
ransgressions On Parole	of Parolees	Satis.	Marg.	Rev.	of Parolees	Satis.	Marg.	Rev.
WHITE								
one	197	90.8	9.2	--	130	89.1	10.9	--
ew Crime	70	14.3	25.7	60.0	56	--	28.6	71.4
ule violation	129	1.6	42.6	55.8	90	7.8	44.4	47.8
Supervision	(40)	--	(32.5)	(67.5)	(35)	(17.2)	(45.7)	(37.1)
Evasion of responsibility	(29)	--	(37.9)	(62.1)	(24)	--	(37.5)	(62.5)
Recreation	(60)	(3.3)	(51.7)	(45.0)	(31)	(3.2)	(48.4)	(48.4)
otals	396	--	--	--	276	--	--	--
EGRO								
one	46	91.3	8.7	--	94	87.8	12.2	--
ew crime	44	4.5	27.3	68.2	42	--	33.3	66.7
ule violation	48	4.1	43.8	52.1	64	10.9	46.9	42.2
Supervision	(14)	(7.1)	(35.7)	(57.2)	(26)	(26.9)	(53.9)	(19.2)
Evasion of responsibility	(14)	--	(42.9)	(57.1)	(20)	--	(30.0)	(70.0)
Recreation	(20)	(5.0)	(50.0)	(45.0)	(18)	--	(55.6)	(44.4)
otals	138	--	--	--	200	--	--	--

Considering only the men with transgressions while on parole, the chi-square value for each of the races was significant at less than the one per cent level.

supervision infractions. Revocations for evasion of responsibility were applied equally to both types of parolees among whites, but Negro orthodox parolees received especially stern actions compared with Negro work-releasees. Nevertheless, the reverse situation for supervision violations was sufficient to give Negro work-releasees a higher revocation rate for total rule violations.

When the parolees had a low level of work performance, the work-releasees were particularly deficient in behavior in comparison to orthodox parolees. As the quality of the parole work record deteriorated, the incidence of parole transgressions accelerated. When the work-performance was rated as excellent, the work-releasees were equivalent to orthodox parolees in avoidance of transgression among whites, and were superior to orthodox parolees among Negroes. However, at the satisfactory and poor levels of performance, the orthodox parolees were less prone to either new crimes or rule violations. The relative avoidance of transgressions by orthodox parolees was especially marked at the poor level of performance. Furthermore, the transgressions of these orthodox parolees was more likely to be rule violations than new crimes. In other words the work-releasees with a poor work-record were especially likely to

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perpetrate new crimes instead of the more minor form of transgression -- rule violations.

Whether the parolee changed jobs had little affect on the probability that the white parolee would have transgressions among whites. The Negro parolees who changed jobs were less likely to have transgressions than the non-mobile Negro. When he did transgress, the work-releasee was more prone to rule violations than the orthodox parolee with job mobility strengthening this difference.

Revocations. What proportion of the parolees was subjected to either a temporary or permanent revocation? The cancellation of parole and return of the man obviously is evidence that his misbehavior has been assessed as meriting the extreme penalty. But, since a transgression does not necessarily culminate in a permanent revocation, the imposition of this penalty is determined by the officials' evaluation of the relative seriousness of the transgression along a scale defined by the officials. Actually two sets of scales are involved. The parole supervisor orders a temporary revocation when he believes the misconduct merits return to prison. His report is studied by the administrators of the central office and a permanent revocation is put into effect only after their approval. Some supervisors impose

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a temporary revocation in situations they know will not bring a permanent order from the central office. In effect, they use the temporary revocation as a policing device with the intention of improving the parolee's conduct through a disciplinary experience. However, usually a temporary revocation is used solely as the first step toward a permanent revocation.

This study employs revocation as a measurement of parolee behavior. The revocations also can be a measurement of the decision-making process of parole supervisors and their superiors. A study of Florida parole revocations supports the evidence in our data that revocations are most frequent under two conditions. First, the parolee changed his residence or left his county without permission. Second, he failed to work diligently or to maintain his financial obligations to his dependents.[4] The emphasis on the first conditions reflects the high value placed on accurate official knowledge of the physical location and his accessibility to his supervisor as essential conditions for effective supervision. As a means of protecting the community from further criminal acts, supervision entails official responsibility that the parolee be so located that he can be observed if conditions so indicate. The emphasis on the second condition reflects the American ethic that responsible employment, financial solvency, and responsibility for the care of dependents are essential elements of moral conduct for the adult male.

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[4] Carmelo L. Battaglia, "Deviant Behavior of Parolees and the Decision-Making Process of Parole Supervisors," in Charles J. Eichman (ed.), Issue on Deviance and Conformity, Tallahassee: Florida Division of Corrections, February 1969, pp. 1-8.

For our study, the central question involving revocations is whether the work-release experience had influence in the probability of revocation. For both races, the work releasees did not differ significantly from the orthodox parolees in probability of revocation. However, the orthodox parolees had a slightly higher revocation rate. Of the white work-releasees 5.1 per cent received temporary revocations and another 7.1 per cent had permanent revocations, whereas the white orthodox parolees had slightly more temporary (5.8 per cent) than permanent (9.5 per cent) revocations. Of the Negro work-releasees 4.5 per cent had temporary revocations and another 7.1 per cent had permanent revocations. The Negro orthodox parolees also had higher percentages; 7.1 per cent of them received temporary revocations and another 8.5 per cent were returned to prison under permanent revocations.

On two scores the decisions on revocations indicated that white work-releasees perpetrated less serious transgressions on the average than orthodox parolees.

1. Although new crimes comprised a larger share of their transgressions, white work-releasees had a greater proclivity for the less serious traffic and liquor crimes. White orthodox parolees included a greater share of crimes against persons and property than the work releasees. Furthermore, for all three types of crimes, the work releasees had a lower proportion of the crimes resulting in revocation than the orthodox parolees. Regardless of the seriousness of the crime, the conduct of the work-releasees were less likely to be judged as meriting return to prison.

2. The rule violations of white work releasees were skewed more toward recreational difficulties while the white orthodox parolees were more prone to supervision violations and evasion of financial and employment obligations. The latter violations are ranked by paroling authorities as particularly serious. The distribution of the revocations among the types of crimes shows the work-releasee revocations to be especially concentrated in supervision violations.

The patterns for Negroes differed from those described above for whites, but the central thrust of comparisons was in the direction of superior performance by work releasees. Negro work-releasees engaged in the more serious crimes against persons to a greater extent than Negro orthodox parolees, but, as for whites, the work-releasees had a smaller proportion of the new offenses resulting in revocation for all three kinds of crime. Among the kinds of rule violations, the Negro work-releasees exceeded Negro orthodox parolees in being more prone to recreational violations, similar to whites, but they also were more prone to evasion of financial and employment obligations than were Negro work-releasees. In the latter instance, the Negro work-releasees perpetrated more serious rule violations. Nevertheless, the percentage distribution of revocations among kinds of rule violations finds the work-releasees especially concentrated among the less serious recreational violations and the orthodox parolees receiving disproportionate number of revocations for the more serious transgressions of supervision and financial-work obligations.

For both races and both types of parolees, the proportion receiving some kind of revocation decreased with improvement in quality of the work record. For those parolees receiving either an excellent or satisfactory rating for work performance, the work-release parolees had a smaller proportion of men receiving revocations than the equivalent orthodox parolees. However, for parolees with a poor work record, the work-release parolees had the greater rate of revocations. In other words, when the work performance was at least satisfactory, work release scored the better record in avoiding penalities for transgressions. But when the work-release parolee was deficient in work performance, he was even more deficient in behavior than the orthodox parolee.

Summary. In gross terms the type of parole made little difference in terms of rule violations and new crimes among whites, but Negro work-releasees were more prone to violations and new crimes than Negro orthodox parolees. However, more careful study of the kinds of violations and crimes revealed that white work-releasees demonstrated better performance in that their rule violations usually were less of a direct threat to the ultimate purposes of parole. Similar analysis offered some evidence that Negro work-releasees had more favorable performance than the gross comparison indicates. However, the

Negro orthodox parolees retained their general advantage to support the conclusion for Negroes that work-release experience failed to produce more constructive behavior on parole.

The imposition of revocations shows that paroling authorities considered a larger proportion of work-releasees' transgressions to be less serious than of the orthodox parolees' transgressions.

MOBILITY AND FAMILY PROBLEMS

Now we turn to the second conception of deviant behavior which does not involve transgression of parole regulations. The data concerns intercommunity migration, moves to a different house, and problems associated with family life. The earlier discussions of compliance and mobility are pertinent here. Changes in physical locale and disturbances in family life upset the tranquility of a case. Do work releasees and orthodox parolees differ in the incidence of these changes and disturbances? However, events upsetting the tranquility of a case may herald constructive changes of the inmate's attitudes and/or status within his social environment. If so, do work releasees and orthodox parolees differ in the association between these signs of change and evidence of constructive revision of behavior?

Intercommunity mobility. If moves to another community increases the problems of supervision, work-releasees raised no more difficulty than orthodox parolees. White parolees were slightly more mobile than Negroes; 17 per cent moved to a different community compared with 15 per cent of the Negroes. Negro orthodox parolees (19 per cent) were more mobile than Negro work-releasees (9 per cent), but the two groups were similar among whites (17 per cent).

Intercommunity mobility was more likely to have constructive consequences among work releasees than orthodox parolees if the nature of parole outcome is taken as a measure. Only 25 per cent of the mobile white work-releasees suffered revocations, 42 per cent had satisfactory terminations, and 33 per cent marginal terminations. The immobile white work-releasees had more revocations (30 per cent) and satisfactory terminations (49 per cent), but trailed in marginal terminations (21 per cent). Meanwhile, the immobile orthodox parolees exceeded the performance of their mobile brothers. The immobile group had 30 per cent revocations, 48 per cent satisfactory terminations, and 22 per cent marginal terminations. For the migrants the equivalent percentages were 35, 26, and

39. Only the questionable terminations prevented the sedentary orthodox parolees from having a larger advantage.

The work-release experience was of benefit to Negroes also in the relationship between migration and favorable parole outcome. However, this advantage was gained predominately through the rather questionable means of an excess of marginal terminations. Sedentary Negro work-releasees had 41 per cent revocations, 36 per cent satisfactory terminations. Mobile work-releasees had 31 per cent revocations, a very low 8 per cent satisfactory terminations, but a very high 61 per cent marginal terminations. Meanwhile, the Negro orthodox parolees were more successful when they avoided migration. Sedentary orthodox parolees had 28 per cent revocations, 48 per cent satisfactory terminations, and 24 per cent marginal terminations. The mobile group had 37 per cent revocations, 26 per cent satisfactory terminations, and 37 per cent marginal termination.

One unique quality of the migrants is the greater concentration in marginal terminations than found in the reciprocal sedentary group. The pattern suggests that mobility is associated with behavior out of the routine of supervision. This unorthodox behavior may reflect a constructive search for a more congenial environment for achieving personal goals. On the other hand, the unorthodox behavior may simply be deviance contrary to the objectives of parole.

When the transgressions on parole are considered, the work-releasees demonstrate less effective performance than orthodox parolees. Furthermore, migration has more adverse effect on the behavior of work releasees than orthodox parolees. For white work-releasees 52 per cent of the sedentary group and 67 per cent of the migrants had transgressions. But the orthodox parolees had less misconduct among migrants than the non-migrants, 56.0 per cent compared to 46 per cent of the men with transgressions. Regardless of mobility status, Negro orthodox parolees outperformed Negro work-releasees. The share of inmates with transgressions was 66 per cent for sedentary work-releasees, 94 per cent for migrant work-releasees, 55 per cent for sedentary orthodox parolees, and 78 per cent for migrant orthodox parolees.

Among the transgressors, the white migrants were more prone to new crimes and less prone to rule violations than white non-migrants. However, the work-releasees moved toward greater perpetration of liquor and traffic offenses as they become migrants. Meanwhile, orthodox parolees were more likely to commit property crimes and less likely to perpetrate liquor or traffic crimes when they were classified as migrants. In short, migration of work releasees tended the whites toward less serious crimes, and migration of orthodox parolees was associated with more serious offenses. Although Negroes exhibited a similar pattern, the small number of migrant work-releasees eroded the reliability of conclusions.

For both types of parolees and races, the rule violations of migrants were more concentrated in supervision difficulties with the relative importance of evasion of financial and employment responsibility declining in comparison with sedentary parolees. For whites these trends were more marked for work-releasees than orthodox parolees. For Negroes the trends were sharper for orthodox parolees. The work-release experience apparently was associated with improved employment responsibility for whites but not for Negroes.

Change of houses. Moves to new houses, of course, occurred more frequently than intercommunity migration. Furthermore, the orthodox parolees increased their difference from work releasees in greater proclivity for residential change. For Negroes, only 23 per cent of the work releasees changed houses compared with 44 per cent of the orthodox parolees. Meanwhile, although similar in intercommunity migration rates, the whites showed more housing changes among orthodox parolees (39 per cent) than work-releasees (32 per cent). For both races, the orthodox parolees exceeded work releasees in the incidence of housing changes as an index of the supervisor's work-load.

A higher incidence of housing change brought a high degree of advantage in parole outcome to work releasees among whites. However, the Negro work-releasees were inferior in parole outcome regardless of degree of housing change. When the whites failed to change houses or changed their home residence only once, the parole outcome was about the same for the two kinds of parolees. The sedentary whites had a revocation rate of 33 per cent for work-releasees and 32 per cent for orthodox parolees. The whites who moved to a new house once had a revocation rate of 27 per cent for work releasees and 24 per cent for orthodox parolees. Among those whites who changed houses two or more times, the work-release experience was associated with parole outcome superior to that of orthodox parolees. Here work releasees had a revocation rate of 9 per cent compared to 37 per cent for orthodox parolees.

Although only slightly inferior when houses were changed more than once, Negro work-releasees had a higher rate of revocations for all of the mobility levels. Negroes receiving revocations constituted 41 per cent of the sedentary work-releasees and 32 per cent of the sedentary orthodox parolees. When there was only one housing change, the margin between revocation rates widened, 39 per cent of work releasees and 21 per cent of the orthodox parolees. For Negroes changing houses more than once, 36 per cent of the work releasees and 35 per cent of the orthodox parolees were given revocations.

For whites the work-release experience was associated with a greater concentration of housing changes as a byproduct of migration to a new city. For Negroes, the work releasees were more likely than parolees to engage in the shorter-distance moves of housing changes, obviously intercommunity migration involved housing change, but the inverse is not necessarily true. However, as the number of housing changes increased, the probability of intercommunity migration became greater. Among whites this probability rose more rapidly among work-releasees than orthodox parolees. For Negroes, orthodox parolees had the greater increase in this probability.

Generally, transgressions became more charecteristic of parolees as the number of housing changes increased. However, rule violations also assumed a larger share of the total transgressions to indicate a modest decline in the seriousness of the transgressions. The work releasees avoid transgressions to a slightly greater degree than orthodox parolees among whites, and this advantage broadens as the number of housing changes increases. In contrast, Negro work releasees have a higher incidence of transgressions than Negro orthodox parolees and their difference from orthodox parolees in this regard is extended as the number of housing changes increases.

Regardless of degree of house mobility the new crimes of the white work-releasees were concentrated to a greater degree in the less serious liquor and traffic offenses than the white orthodox parolees. The difference in degree of this concentration widened for the mobile group over that of the parolees who stayed in the same house. The situation was different for Negroes. Their work-releasees were more concentrated in crimes against persons than for orthodox parolees, especially for the Negroes who moved to another house.

House mobility increased the relative importance of supervision violations for both types of parolees and races. Meanwhile, the evasion of financial and employment obligations declined as a form of rule violation. Because the latter decline was especially characteristic of work-releasees of both races, there is evidence that work-release experience contributed to a constructive use of work release for greater conformity to the work ethic.

Job changes. A low incidence of job changes indicates stability in the employment career which may be associated with reasonable success in finding a place in the labor force. In our study of former offenders undergoing the adjustments characteristic of the post-incarceration period, the incidence of job changes does indicate the relative degree of experiment a man had to go through in finding a place in the employment sphere. The incidence may be an index of an individual's own failure as an effective worker. However, the number of job changes also can reflect a fluid job market providing a high degree of opportunity to be realized through changing employers. It would be hazardous to assume that number of job changes is a barometer of employment success to be interpreted in a single way.

Generally, work releasees had a lower rate of job change. Of the work releasees, 54 per cent of the whites and 38 per cent of the Negroes changed jobs during parole. Of the orthodox parolees, 60 per cent of the whites and 63 per cent of the Negroes had job changes.

TABLE 9: PAROLE OUTCOME BY JOB MOBILITY AND RACE FOR TWO CATEEGORIES OF PAROLEES

	Work-Release Parolees				Orthodox Parolees			
	Number of Parolees	Terminated			Number of Parolees	Terminated		
ob changed n parole?		Satis.	Marg.	Rev.		Satis.	Marg.	Rev.
HITE								
No	185	49.7	15.7	34.6	111	46.9	17.1	36.0
Yes	212	46.7	29.2	24.1	168	42.3	30.3	27.4
EGRO								
No	91	37.4	19.8	42.8	76	47.4	18.4	34.2
Yes	47	25.5	40.4	34.1	127	41.7	30.7	27.6

Chi-square value is significant at less than one per cent level for whites and at the two per cent level for Negroes.

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Parolees who changed jobs had a lower revocation rate than sedentary parolees regardless of type of parolee and race. However, the parolees who kept their jobs scored higher satisfactory termination rates. Therefore, it was the marginal terminations which accounted for the lower revocation rates for the type of parolee who changed jobs. In other words, the more mobile parolees gained an advantage over sedentary parolees in parole outcome by virtue of cases in which behavior was questionable at times. Therefore, the evaluation of parole behavior on bases of outcome is obscured by the tendency of sedentary parolees to be either extreme successes or extreme failures. Probably job mobility is associated with events which strain the interpretation of parole rules.

For whites work-releasees were superior to orthodox parolees outcome regardless of mobility. For Negroes orthodox parolees had the advantage in outcome among both mobile and sedentary types.

Family problems. As setting for long-term social intimacy with other human beings, the family is highly likely to be associated with failures in interpersonal relations. Financial and social responsibilities are associated with the key statuses characteristic of the family as a social unit. One would

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expect problems to exist in the life of every family. However, we assume a more narrow conception of "family problems." The event must have come to the attention of the parole supervisor and to have qualified in his terms as justifying inclusion in his official reports. Therefore, the "family problem" is unusual in the normal course of events typical of the life of the parolee and his family. Also the event must have been interpreted as particularly germane to the question of the parolee's adjustment to the expectations associated with his qualification as a constructive participant in community life. In most cases, the parolee was in the role of husband and perhaps parent. However, because of the existence of common-law marriages, the parolee need not have been legally married. Furthermore, family problems also are included when the parolee occupies some family status other than husband.

The information was gathered on the basis of very general groupings to lend order to data collection. Otherwise, the nature of the events reported dictated the classification of the "family problems" into three major categories:

(1) difficulties with the parolee's wife, estranged wife, or former wife;
(2) misbehavior involving "whiskey and women"; and
(3) misbehavior involving family relationships more extensive than the husband-wife relationship (non-support, hostile relationships with other members of the family, and so on).

Work-releasees, especially among whites, were more likely to be involved in problems which were related directly with the family as a social unit beyond the narroaer sphere of interaction with the wife.

For both races work-releasees were more likely than orthodox parolees to have family problems more extensive than the husband- wife relationship (the third category named above). Orthodox parolees were markedly more involved in difficulties with their wives. "Whiskey and women" problems were equally prevalent among both kinds of white parolees, but among Negroes these difficulties were particularly present among work-releasees.

It would be hazardous to contend that the qualitative difference in type of problems would make one group of parolees more difficult to supervise than the other. It might be that the relative underrepresentation of difficulties with the wife may reflect the contribution of work-release in preserving the most intimate aspect of family life. But we can not be certain.

For whites the work-releasees and orthodox parolees were equivalent in the quantity of family problems raised for the parole supervisor. About 20 per cent of each group were involved. Negro work-releasees were more prone to family problems; 26 per cent compared to 20 per cent of the Negro orthodox parolees. One explanation for the larger proportion of Negro work-releasees with family problems was the greater representation of single men among those Negro work-releasees who had such difficulties. The source of this pattern is not clear. Perhaps the well-known instability of Negro family life in the lower socio-economic status level is productive of an unusual degree of aggravated incidents among the younger unmarried males attached to a family.

Among orthodox parolees of both races, married men and those with broken marriages assumed a much more dominant position among parolees with family problems. Among work releasees the men with broken marriages were more prone to have family problems than married men. When one considers the impact on family life of imprisonment and the unfavorable affects on marital stability of the socio-economic conditions associated with criminal behavior, the relative underrepresentation of married work-releasees among the "family problem" group indicates that the work-release experience does contribute some measure of stability to family life.

Regardless of race and type of parolee, men without family problems were more successful in parole outcome, than men with difficulties in the home. This pattern is expected because family problems frequently stem from the same psychological and social factors behind misconduct under supervision.

For whites without family problems, both work-releasees and orthodox parolees had 26 per cent of their cases resulting in revocation. For men with family problems, work-release experience gave a slight advantage to the white work-releasees, 40 per cent of their cases resulting in revocation and 45 per cent for the orthodox parolees. In addition to this general quantitative advantage, the white work-releasees with family problems had less serious transgressions among those men who did misbehave compared to the equivalent white parolees without work-release experience. Rule violations, less serious than new crimes, composed 74 per cent of the misconduct of the work-releasees with family problems compared to only 47 per cent of the equivalent orthodox parolees. Conversely the orthodox-parolee transgressors were more prone to new crimes and, furthermore, their rule were skewed towards evasion of supervision and financial obligations. The work-releasees tended to have a greater share of recreational difficulties among their rule violations. When new crimes were perpetrated, the work-releasees especially favored traffic and liquor offenses whereas orthodox parolees were more prone to the more serious crimes against persons or property.

For Negroes the orthodox parolees had the superior record in parole outcome regardless of the presence of family problems. However, the advantage was particularly marked for Negroes without family problems. Twenty-six per cent of the Negro orthodox parolees and 41 per cent of the work releasees suffered revocations. Among Negroes with family problems, the advantage was reduced to a revocation rate of 40 per cent for orthodox parolees and 42 per cent for work-releasees. However, the successful terminations for work-releasees were more heavily weighted toward marginal cases.

The Negro work-releasees also exhibited the qualitative advantage reported above for whites but to a less degree. Of the Negro work-releasee transgressions 59 per cent were rule violations compared to 45 per cent for the orthodox parolee transgressions. Furthermore, the work-releasee rule violations also were especially skewed toward recreational difficulties. However, the Negro work-releasees did not conform to the white pattern in avoiding the more serious crimes against persons.

For whites, work release again demonstrated a special usefulness for improving performance among misdemeanants who usually are particularly deficient in parole performance.

Although work-releasees were more weighted with misdemeanants, the orthodox parolees drew the greater burden of family problems from white misdemeanants. For white work-releasees 18 per cent of both felons and misdemeanants had family problems. In comparison among white orthodox parolees, 18 per cent of the felons had family problems but 29 per cent of the misdemeanants. However, for Negroes, the work-releasees brought the greater burden of family problems among misdemeanants. Again only 18 per cent of the work-release felons had family problems but 40 per cent of the work-release misdemeanants had such difficulties. For Negro orthodox parolees, there was little differences in proclivity for family problems, 20 per cent of the felons and 17 per cent of the misdemeanants.

Summary. The work-release experience was of advantage to both races in improving the probability that intercommunity migration would raise the quality of parole outcome. But had more adverse affect in increasing the transgressions of migrant work-releasees than of orthodox parolees. However, the affect was that migrant work-releasees perpetrated less serious offenses on the average than migrant orthodox parolees.

Change of house residence was more characteristic of orthodox parolees of both races, but whites alone gave the

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advantage to work-releasees in converting house changes into better parole outcome and avoidance of the more serious transgressions.

For both races work releasees had lower rates of job changes than orthodox parolees, but only the whites also gave the work releasees the better record in parole outcome.

Therefore, in terms of transgressions, mobility, and family problems, the work-release experience generally brought fewer problems for the parole supervisor. When the paroled work-release did raise problems, he was more likely than the orthodox parolee to be involved in difficulties which are associated with behavior congenial to the ultimate purpose of parole.

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